

L'ATTENTE DU RETOUR D'ÉLIE DANS L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT ET LES ÉCRITS PÉRITESTAMENTAIRES : 4Q558 ET 4Q521

Sommaire

Cette note (1) retrace les attentes du retour du prophète Élie dans l'Ancien Testament et dans les écrits péritestamentaires. Elle montre que le prophète enlevé au ciel était attendu pour préparer le Jour du Jugement, Élie *redivivus*. Cette attente s'est précisée dans le judaïsme ancien et en particulier dans des compositions esséniennes qui décrivent la venue du prophète précédant celle des deux messies.

Summary

This note attempts to trace the expectations of the return of Prophet Elijah in the Old Testament and in the peri-testamental writings. It shows that the Prophet taken up to heaven must come back to prepare the Day of Judgment, Elijah *redivivus*. This expectation became more clear in ancient Judaism and particularly in the Essene compositions which describe the coming of the Prophet preceding that of the two Messiahs.

DANS leur quête sur le Jésus historique, les exégètes préfèrent en général les formulations de Luc à celles de Matthieu où Jésus déclare au sujet de Jean : (2)

(1) Une première mouture de cette note a été présentée à la Journée d'étude : *Autour de saint Jean-Baptiste : cultes et traditions*, 20 octobre 2016, à l'École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem en collaboration avec l'Institut français du Proche-Orient. Ces pages me fournissent une occasion pour apporter quelques corrections à l'édition de manuscrits.

(2) Sur ces discussions, voir par ex. J.P. Meier, *Un certain Juif Jésus. Les données de l'histoire. II La parole et les gestes*, (Paris : Cerf, 2005), chap. XII-XIII, *passim*

« Qu'êtes-vous allés contempler dans le désert , ..., voir un prophète ? Oui, je vous le dis, et plus qu'un prophète. C'est celui dont il est écrit : "Voici que j'envoie mon messenger en avant de toi pour préparer la route devant toi" (Mt 3,1) ... Tous les prophètes en effet ainsi que la loi ont prophétisé jusqu'à Jean. Et lui, si vous voulez m'en croire, il est cet Élie qui doit venir » (Mt 11,2-15, comparer Lc 7,26-27).

et plus loin comme réponse à une question des disciples :

« Que disent donc les scribes, qu'Élie doit venir d'abord ? Il répondit : 'Oui, Élie doit venir et tout remettre en ordre ; mais je vous le dis, Élie est déjà venu et ils ne l'ont pas reconnu, mais ils l'ont traité à leur guise. ...'. Alors les disciples comprirent qu'il leur parlait de Jean le Baptiste » (Mt 17,10-13),

de même Mc 9,11-13 : « Élie en venant d'abord remettra tout en ordre ».

Ainsi par la citation d'Ex 23,20 en Mt 11,10, Jésus assimile l'envoi du messenger de Mt 3,1 à celui d'Élie de Mt 3,23-24. En effet, puisqu'Élie a été soustrait à la vue d'Élisée, la prophétie annonçait son retour.

Toutefois dans la quatrième évangile, Jn 1,21-25 ne donne plus l'opinion de Jésus sur Jean, mais celle de Jean sur lui-même, qui nie être Élie ou le Prophète, alors même qu'il reconnaît être la voix qui crie dans le désert (Is 40,3), tout comme il en est dans la tradition synoptique (Mc 1-3 // Mt 3,3 // Lc 3,4). Il s'agit là de deux points de vues différents des évangiles, d'opinions croisées qui se rejoignent et ne se contredisent pas.

Même reformulée par Matthieu faisant clairement de Jean le Baptiste le nouvel Élie, la tradition a retenu que la Loi et les Prophètes jusqu'à Jean ont prophétisé la venue du Royaume qui souffre violence. Cependant, bien que le plus grand des enfants des femmes, le plus petit dans le Royaume des Cieux est plus grand que lui, un prophète et plus qu'un prophète, le messenger qui prépare la route. En tant que le dernier prophète, (3) il se situe à la charnière entre l'ordre ancien et l'ordre

et en particulier p. 103-62 et spécialement p. 154 ss, qui privilégie la rédaction lucanienne de la source Q aux parallèles de Matthieu. Toutefois dans cette enquête, bien des sémitismes de Matthieu ne peuvent être écartés aussi facilement, il ne s'agit donc là que d'une hypothèse de l'auteur, voir p. 182.

(3) La séquence unique « Tous les prophètes et la loi jusqu'à Jean ont prophétisé » propre à Mt 11,13 qui insiste sur la grandeur de Jean comme le dernier des prophètes dans le corpus prophétique, semble originelle et voulue, et donc préférable à la séquence habituelle des livres reçus, une correction des scribes, « la loi et les prophètes jusqu'à Jean » de Lc 16,16, bien que les auteurs en général estiment préférable celle de Luc. Le messenger envoyé pour entrer en Canaan (*Exode* 23 et 34) mais qui n'y est pas entré, est le messenger attendu (*Isaïe* 40 et *Malachie* 3), le nouvel Élie, qui prépare la venue du Messie et l'entrée dans le Royaume des Cieux. En outre, la séquence de Matthieu

nouveau inauguré par la venue du Royaume manifesté dans les œuvres de Jésus, celles mêmes que Dieu devait réaliser lors de la venue du messie (voir ci-dessous).

À la synagogue de Nazareth, Jésus a ancré son message dans les Écritures, et en particulier dans l'histoire des Prophètes Élie et Élisée (Lc 4,16-30). (4) Il n'est donc pas sans objet de voir comment les diverses formulations des premières communautés chrétiennes ont compris l'accomplissement des prophéties, et de voir en quoi consistaient les attentes du retour d'Élie à l'aube des temps eschatologiques dans les Écritures et dans des écrits péritestamentaires antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne. Dit autrement, l'attente d'un retour d'Élie pour préparer la voie au messie, et non la voie de Dieu lui-même, est-elle absente dans le judaïsme préchrétien, comme l'estiment des auteurs ? (5)

1 – Ancien Testament

Comme le messager envoyé pour préparer la route est nommément désigné Élie en Mt 3,23 qualifié de 'le prophète' (TH) ou 'le Tishbite' (LXX et de même le plus souvent en *1-2 Rois*), (6) l'identité du personnage historique et du prophète eschatologique est clairement soulignée. Faut-il encore rappeler que le nom **אֵלִיהוּ** signifie « Yahvé est mon Dieu », et que Yahvé, le Dieu de Jéthro, vient de Séir/Teiman, comme le rappellent Jg 5,4 ; Dt 33,2 ; Ha 3,3 ainsi que les inscriptions de Kuntillet 'Ajrud, sans oublier un dessin et la mention 'le prophète' visant probablement Élie. (7)

reprend celle de Mt 3,23-24-22 du grec (tradition la plus ancienne ?) comparée à celle de Mt 3,22-24 du texte proto-massorétique en Luc, voir de même déjà au Thabor les apparitions d'Élie et de Moïse dans cet ordre en Mc 9,4 contrairement à l'ordre inverse de Mt 17,3 // Lc 9,30.

(4) Un même ancrage se retrouve en Mt 11,10-14 et Mc 9,9-13 décrivant la mission de Jean comme accomplissement des Écritures et, de la reconnaissance du précurseur Jean - Élie *reditus*, découle celle de Jésus comme Messie. De fait, la non-reconnaissance est cause de l'aveuglement des Pharisiens du début de la mission de Jésus jusqu'à la moquerie de la mort sur la croix : « Éli, Éli, ... (Ps 22,2). Il appelle Élie ! ».

(5) Voir Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 859 note 242, avec une bibliographie.

(6) Voir 1 R 17,1 ; 21,17.28 ; 2 R 1,3.8 ; 9,36. Le texte hébreu de Mt 3,23 écrit **אֵלִיהוּ**, alors que la forme habituelle **אֵלִיהוּ** est encore attestée dans le manuscrit 4Q76 IV 16, copie du milieu du 2^e s. av. J.-C., mais la séquence **אֵלִיהוּ הַנְּבִיאַ** est connue en 1 R 18,22.36 ; 2 Ch 21,21 et Si 48,1(H^b).

(7) Voir E. Puech, « Les inscriptions hébraïques de Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Sinaï) », *RB* 121 (2014) 161-94, p. 184-86, inscriptions sur la route commerciale du royaume de Samarie à Teiman sous le roi Joas du temps d'Élisée, successeur d'Élie. En effet, on ne doit pas oublier le rôle d'Élie dans les affaires du royaume ainsi que son long voyage à l'Horeb.

1.1 – 1-2 Rois : Élie et Élisée

Les *Livres des Rois* présentent Élie comme l'homme des crises, aussi bien dans son intercession lors du sacrifice au Mont Carmel (1 Rois 18), auprès d'Achab et de Jézabel (1 Rois 21) qu'à l'extérieur du royaume d'Israël auprès de la veuve de Sarepta (1 Rois 17). Mais après la théophanie à la grotte de l'Horeb où Moïse avait aussi fait cette même expérience, il est renouvelé dans sa mission auprès des rois et pour l'onction de son successeur Élisée, à qui il incombera de continuer sa mission prophétique (1 Rois 19). Le confirmera la part du manteau de son maître lors du départ d'Élie (2 Rois 2). Pour notre propos, il est important de noter que ce départ a lieu au bord du Jourdain dans le grec (L) mais au-delà du Jourdain dans le TH, (8) région où mourut Moïse, et où 'Élie monta au ciel dans un tourbillon' (TH), 'Élie fut comme enlevé dans un tourbillon jusqu'au ciel' (grec, VL, voir 2 R 2,11, de même 1 M 2,58). Mais rien ne dit qu'Élie est mort, (9) il fut soustrait au regard (grec, ou véritable ascension TH) d'Élisée qui, recevant son manteau, reçut la double part de son esprit. De fait comme Élie son maître, Élisée fit des miracles dans le royaume et hors du royaume, et même depuis son tombeau, il rendit la vie à un mort (2 R 13,20-21). En 2 Ch 21,12-15 est même reporté un écrit du prophète Élie au roi Joram de Juda lui annonçant les châtements divins pour son idolâtrie, comme si le prophète continuait toujours sa mission.

1.2 – Malachie 3

Le livre de *Malachie* clôt le corpus prophétique, (10) et la fin du livre évoque l'envoi du prophète Élie pour préparer 'le Jour de Yahvé, grand et redoutable'. « Voici que J'(=Yahvé) envoie mon messager et il préparera un chemin devant moi » (Ml 3,1.23). Le nom même

(8) Au sujet de 2 R 2,6, voir J. Trebolle Barrera, *Centena in Libros Samuelis et Regum: variantes textuales y composicio literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes*, (Madrid, 1986), p. 161. La *Vorlage* du texte proto-lucianique est une rédaction plus ancienne que le texte proto-massorétique. Ces précisions ont une certaine importance pour la tradition du retour d'Élie et les lieux où Jean baptisait, ainsi la carte de Madaba situe Aïnon au-delà du Jourdain.

(9) Tout comme il en est d'Hénoch enlevé au ciel (Gn 5,24).

(10) En fait, l'ordre des livres n'est apparemment pas encore fixé au milieu du 2^e s. av. J.-C., puisqu'en 4Q76-4QXII^a, *Jonas* suit *Zacharie-Malachie*, mais en 4Q78-4QXII^c, copie très lacunaire plus tardive, vers 75 av. J.-C., *Zacharie* n'est pas attesté (?), et peut-être un fragment de *Malachie*, et *Malachie* manque (?) dans la copie d'une traduction grecque du Wadi *Khabra* (8QKh) de la fin du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. Par bien des aspects, la composition purement littéraire de *Jonas* n'est pas éloignée de celle de *Malachie*. La place de *Jonas* après *Malachie* en 4Q76-4QXII^a en serait-elle un indice ?

‘Malachie = ‘Mon envoyé/prophète’, (11) désigne déjà en Ex 23,20-23 et 32,34-33,2 le messager précurseur que Yahvé envoie comme guide et intercesseur dans le désert après le don de la Loi au Sinaï. (12) Aussi est-il écrit en MI 3,22(/24 en grec) (13) : « Rappelez-vous la Loi de Moïse, mon serviteur à qui j’ai prescrit, à l’Horeb, pour tout Israël, des lois et des coutumes », reliant étroitement les deux figures, celle d’Élie parachevant ainsi les missions prophétiques. Le manuscrit 4Q76-4QXII^a II 12 lit le pluriel יבאי en MI 3,1, (14) et distingue par là le Seigneur devant arriver dans son temple du messager de l’alliance, avec une allusion d’abord à l’alliance conclue avec Lévi, le messager de Yahvé (MI 2,4-8), et à celle conclue avec Moïse, le premier désigné comme ‘messager de l’alliance’ dans l’Exode. Mais le TH les distingue également : ‘et le messager de l’alliance que vous désirez, voici qu’il vient, dit Yahvé Sabaôt’. Avec les mots ‘le messager de l’alliance’, ‘Mon messager’, MI 3,1 annonce déjà la venue d’un précurseur, le prophète Élie, dans ce qui est souvent considéré comme un appendice conclusif du corpus prophétique en MI 3,22-24, (15) prolongeant Is 63,9 où le messager prépare la venue de Yahvé qui sauve, et assurant ainsi

(11) Les fouilles de Tel Arad ont révélé le premier témoignage d’un anthroponyme du nom מלאכי[הו] - Malakya[hu], (voir Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, 1981, p. 109). Mais la traduction de la Septante a compris ‘son messager’ lisant sa Vorlage מלאכי, la non-distinction waw-yod est bien connue à cette époque, si bien qu’un prophète du nom de Malachie n’est pas assuré comme auteur du livre, voir I. Himbaza, «Masoretic Text and Septuagint as Witnesses to Malachi 1:1 and 3:22-24, in *Making the Biblical Text. Textual Studies in the Hebrew and Greek Bible*, ed. by I. Himbaza, (OBO 275; Fribourg-Göttingen, 2015), 100-17, p. 101-06, où l’auteur retient le grec comme original.

(12) Voir B. Renaud, *L’Alliance, un mystère de miséricorde*, (LD 169 : Paris, 1998), *passim*.

(13) Sur cette question, voir *La Bible d’Alexandrie LXX, 23.12 Malachie. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes*, par L. Vianès, (Paris, 2011), p. 60-61 et 164-68, et Himbaza, *cit.*, p. 107-09, où l’auteur montre que l’ordre du grec est plus ancien, l’ajout d’une référence à Moïse fait inclusion avec le livre de Josué, et le Texte Hébreu a changé l’ordre pour retrouver la séquence chronologique Moïse et la Loi, et Élie et les prophètes. Cette solution répond à une logique difficilement contestable.

(14) Voir R.E. Fuller, «76. 4QXII^a», in *Qumran Cave 4 X. The Prophets*, by E. Ulrich et alii, (DJD XV; Oxford, 1997), 221-32, p. 225.

(15) Voir la forme אָנִי au lieu de אֲנִי du reste du livre de *Malachie* 1,4.6.6.14 ; 2,9 ; 3,6.17.21. Le binôme Loi-Prophètes // Moïse-Élie reflète alors la construction rédactionnelle tout à fait parallèle des deux colophons dans le TH selon le canon du texte massorétique, celui de la Loi en Dt 34,10-12 et celui des Prophètes en MI 3,22-24 d’après un large consensus des auteurs. Cette même séquence se retrouve en Lc 11,16 et Mt 17,3 // Lc 9,30, alors qu’à propos de Jean le Baptiste, Mt 11,13 a la séquence de la scène de la Transfiguration en Mc 9,4 correspondant à celle de MI 3, 23-24-22 (grec) la plus ancienne séquence.

la transition entre le premier exode avec le serviteur Moïse et un nouvel exode avec le retour eschatologique du prophète Élie.

La finale de MI 3,23-24 n'est pas sans variantes (en italiques) dans la tradition textuelle : (16)

(LXX) ²³Et voici que moi, je vous envoie Élie *le Tishbite*, avant que vienne le jour du Seigneur, le (jour) grand et *éclatant*, ²⁴celui qui restaurera le cœur *du* père vers *le* fils et le cœur de *l'homme* vers *son* prochain, pour que je ne vienne pas frapper *la terre de fond en comble*.

(TH) ²³Voici que moi, je vous envoie Élie *le prophète*, avant que vienne le jour de Yahvé, le grand et le *redoutable* (jour). ²⁴Et il ramènera le cœur *des* pères vers *les* fils et le cœur *des* fils vers *leurs* pères, pour que je ne vienne pas frapper *le pays d'anathème*.

Le qualificatif 'le Tishbite' qui est son titre le plus fréquent, montre plus clairement en grec le retour d'Élie historique que la mention plus générique et secondaire 'le prophète' de l'hébreu. Le substrat hébreu הַנִּירָא est compris différemment : soit du verbe רָאָה 'voir', sens habituel dans le *Livre des XII Prophètes*, ou de יָרָא 'craindre', déjà en Jl 3,4. Le v. 24 comprend un parallélisme parfait dans le TH 'le cœur *des* pères vers *les* fils et le cœur *des* fils vers *leurs* pères', alors que le grec est plus général et élargit l'horizon 'le cœur *du* père vers *le* fils et le cœur de *l'homme* vers *son* prochain', mais ces variantes ont peut-être une histoire rédactionnelle voulant éviter un anthropomorphisme qu'introduirait le pluriel (les pères) mais absent avec le singulier, (17) (voir Si 48,10, 4Q521 2 iii et Lc 1,17). Enfin la théophanie du Jour de Yahvé est ambivalente, destructrice pour les uns (les idolâtres, voir déjà la sécheresse en *I Rois* 17) mais salvifique pour d'autres ; et la mission d'Élie eschatologique est de préparer les cœurs des habitants du pays avant le Jour de la visite divine.

(16) Élie est dit 'Tishbite' en 1 R 17,1 (TH) et 'Tishbite et prophète' en grec ; mais 'prophète' en 1 R 18,22.36 ; 2 Ch 21,21 et Si 48,1(H^b). Mais on ne peut affirmer que le grec traduit un autre mot hébreu en 3,24aa, *contra* B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger*, (SBLDS 98; Atlanta, 1987), p. 268-69.

(17) Voir Himbaza, *cit.*, p. 114-17, où l'auteur montre comment le singulier du grec est original et renvoie à la réconciliation entre Dieu et son peuple (MI 1,6 ; 2,10 ; 3,7.17), alors que le pluriel la limite aux membres du peuple (2,10 ; 3,7). Il est peu probable que le traducteur ait perdu le parallélisme si parfait du TH originel, alors qu'il a pu paraître osé par la suite que le prophète change le cœur de Dieu (2,6-7 ; 3,24). La *Vorlage* du texte ancien non révisé serait רָאָה/עַל רֵעֵהוּ, comme en 3,16 selon 4Q78^a ou le codex d'Alep et non le TM, *Vorlage* comparable connue encore en Lc 1,17, voir aussi note 45. Mais B.J. Koet, «Elijah as Reconciler of Father and Son: From 1 Kings 16:34 and Malachi 3:22-24 to Ben Sira 48:1-11 and Luke 1:13-17», in *Rewriting Biblical History. Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Bentjens*, ed. J. Corley and H. van Grol, (DCLS 7; Göttingen, 2011), 173-90, p. 183, considère le TH de *Malachie* comme original, révisé par le traducteur.

1.3 – Ben Sira 48,1-14 : *Élie et Élisée*

Dans son Éloge des ancêtres, *Ben Sira* synthétise les missions d'Élie et d'Élisée. Les textes en hébreu et en grec connaissent de nombreuses variantes, mais la copie en hébreu du manuscrit B (= Ms H^B) de la *geniza* du Caire est en bien des points plus proche de l'original que les autres versions : (18)

- ¹Ensuite se leva un prophète comme un feu,
Aux paroles comme une fournaise ardente.
²Et il brisa pour eux le bâton de pain,
Et dans son zèle il les diminua.
³Par la parole de Dieu il ferma les cieux,
Et aussi trois fois il fit descendre des feux.
⁴Combien tu étais redoutable, Élie,
Et celui qui (est) comme toi sera glorifié.
⁵(Toi) qui as fait se relever un trépassé de la mort,
Et du shéol selon la volonté de YHWH.
⁶Qui as fait descendre des rois dans la fosse,
Et des notables de leurs couches.
⁸Qui as oint l'exécuteur de rétributions,
Et un prophète suppléant après toi.
⁷*Et il fit entendre* au Sinaï des menaces,
Et à l'Horeb des décrets de vengeance.
⁹(Toi) qui fus emporté en haut par un tourbillon,
Et par des escortes de feu ard[ent].
¹⁰Qui fus désigné précisément pour le temps,
Pour apaiser la colère avant[le jour de YHWH],
Pour ramener le cœur des pères vers les fils,
Et pour rétablir les tri[bus d'Isra]ël.

(18) Copie du Moyen Âge, Ms B Bodleian Oxford, fol. XVII verso 5 - XVIII recto 3. Le livre fut traduit en grec par le petit-fils de Ben Sira vers 131 av. J.-C. à Alexandrie. Le grec connaît deux états du texte, un texte court (G I) et une révision plus longue (G II), le syriaque est souvent proche de l'hébreu, et la *Vulgate* traduit un texte grec proche de G II, voir J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach, Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum graecum* vol. XII,2, (Göttingen, 1965), p. 350-52, N. Caldich-Benages, J. Ferrer, J. Liesen, *La sabiduria del escriba. Wisdom of the Scribe*, (Estella, 2003), p. 256-59, F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico. Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriana*, (Napoli, 1968), p. 260-63, Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Book of Ben Sira. Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary*, (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 60-61, P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts & A Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997), p. 85-86, est très minimaliste dans son déchiffrement. Voir aussi P. Skehan - A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, (The Anchor Bible; New York, 1987), p. 529-35, E. Puech, « Élie et Élisée dans l'Éloge des Pères : Sira 48,1-14 dans le manuscrit B et les parallèles », *RQ* 109 (2017) 205-218, où est étudiée cette péricope dans les différentes réceptions textuelles.

- ¹¹Heureux celui qui t'a vu avant de mourir,
Car tu rendras la vi[e et il vi]vra.
¹²Él[i]e[est] celui qui[dans un tourbillon fut]caché,
[Et]Él[isé]e fut rempli de]son[esp]rit.
Le double de signes il multiplia,
Et des prodiges tout ce qui sortait de sa bouche.
Pendant ses jours il ne fut ébranlé par personne,
Et nulle chair ne le subjuga.
¹³Rien ne lui fut impossible,
Et de son souterrain, 'prophète' (a été) sa chair.
¹⁴Pendant sa vie il fit des prodiges,
Et dans sa mort des merveilles d'œuvre.

Ben Sira présente Élie comme un prophète à la parole tranchante et aux œuvres merveilleuses pour ses contemporains. Il a dû leur transmettre de la part de Dieu à l'Horeb des reproches et des décrets de vengeance (le v. 7 du TH suit le v. 8 du grec), signifiant par là que ces rétributions seront bien effectives du temps d'Élisée son successeur. (19) Enlevé dans la hauteur (vv. 9 et 12), il désigna un successeur rempli de son esprit, mais sans oublier de souligner sa mission eschatologique, en 48,10, introduite comme une citation scripturaire selon la formule *ha-katûb nakôn* : (20) « qui fus désigné précisément pour le temps pour apaiser la colère avant la venue[du Jour de Yahvé], pour ramener le cœur des pères vers les fils, et rétablir les tri[bus d'Israël] », (21) référence qui ne peut que renvoyer à Ml 3,23-24.

La mission d'Élie est triple : la première, « apaiser la colère avant la venue du Jour de Yahvé » reprend partiellement Ml, 3,23ba, (22) contrairement au grec « pour apaiser la Colère avant qu'elle n'éclate ». La deuxième, « ramener le cœur des pères vers les fils » reprend littéralement

(19) Le grec attribue à Élie des onctions de rois et de prophètes, alors qu'en 1-2 Rois il n'est pas même dit avoir oint son successeur, voir M. Gilbert, « Les relectures de la geste d'Élie dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testaments », *MSR* 71 (2014), 17-28, p. 21. Contrairement à 1 R 19,9-18 (TH), Élie n'est pas témoin de la voix à peine audible.

(20) Comparer Mc 9,13 καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν et Mt 11,10 // Lc 7,27 οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται.

(21) Le grec lit « dans les reproches pour les temps pour apaiser la colère avant qu'elle n'éclate » d'une part et, d'autre part, au v. 10b, « de Jacob », voir Is 49,6, alors que le syriaque suit le TH en 10a et partiellement le grec en 10b mais en ne mentionnant que 'les fils vers les pères', et partiellement le TH ensuite 'et évangéliser les tribus de Jacob', de même le latin en 10b : *conciliare cor patris ad filium et restituere tribus Iacob*. Noter aussi qu'en combinant Ml 3,24 et Is 49,6, לַהֲכִיץ est plus proche de לַהֲקִים de 1QIs^a et 4QIs^d que de לַהֲשִׁיב de 1QIs^b.

(22) Partiellement le syriaque : « Et il (Élie) viendra avant que vienne le jour du Seigneur », alors que le latin est plus proche du grec *lenire iracundiam Domini*.

MI 3,24aa (TH). (23) La troisième, « et rétablir les tri[bus d'Isra]ël », est un élément ajouté à la citation de MI 3,24aß. (24)

Puis en complément de cette triple mission d'Élie d'écarter « l'anathème devant frapper le pays/la terre » en MI 3,24b, *Ben Sira* conclut par une béatitude : « Heureux (25) celui qui t'a vu avant de mourir, car tu rendras la vi[e et il (re)vi]vra ». Cette lecture de H^B qui paraît matériellement assurée comme je l'ai montré ailleurs, (26) et fortement appuyée par le syriaque « Heureux celui qui t'a vu et meurt, cependant il n'est pas mort, mais il vivra sûrement », (27) explique parfaitement les relectures de G I « Heureux ceux qui t'ont vu et ont été ornés dans l'amour car nous aussi nous (re)vivrons certainement », et de G II « Heureux ceux qui t'ont vu et se sont endormis dans l'amour car nous aussi nous (re)vivrons certainement ». (28) Suite au v. 10, le macarisme

(23) Le syriaque ne mentionne pas 'le cœur' et il n'a que la fin de l'expression 'les fils vers les pères', mais le grec a le singulier comme le grec de MI 3,24 suivi par le latin.

(24) Le syriaque suit en partie le grec 'et pour apporter la bonne nouvelle aux tribus de Jacob', interpolation chrétienne probable, mais voir aussi Is 61,1, 4Q521 2 ii et Lc 3,18 (syr.). Un renvoi possible à 1 R 18,31 expliquerait la variante Israël/Jacob mais en sens inverse G/H, et surtout Is 49,6.

(25) Haplographie probable du *yod* de אשרי ראך ומת devant le *reß*, confusions ailleurs de ces deux lettres, voir par exemple H^B, רבים en Si 16,3.

(26) Voir E. Puech, « Ben Sira 48,11 et la résurrection », in *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins, T.H. Tobin, S.J., (Lanham. New York. London, 1990), p. 81-90, lecture retenue par J.-S. Rey, « L'espérance post-mortem dans les différentes versions du Siracide », *The Texts and versions of the Book of Ben Sira. Transmission and Interpretation*, ed. by J.-S. Rey and J. Joosten, (SJSJ 150; Leiden. Boston, 2011), 257-79, p. 263s, et considérée maintenant comme la plus probable par P.C. Beentjes, « Reconstructions and Retroversions: Chances and Challenges to the Hebrew Ben Sira Text », *id.*, 23-35, p. 29-30, mais R.J. Owens, « Christian Features in the Peshitta Text of Ben Sira: The Question of Dependency on the Syriac New Testament », *id.* 177-96, p. 193s, considère la proposition de simple speculation ! A.P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine. Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, (STDJ 68; Leiden. Boston, 2007), p. 139-42, restaure לפני חרות, impossible par les traces manuscrites, mais il accepterait le rôle d'Élie dans le rassemblement des exilés et la résurrection des morts.

(27) Le syriaque ממה נחא ne peut pas être traduit « faisant vivre il fera vivre », deux 'af'el qui demanderaient un suffixe pour reprendre la personne de 10a, mais bien « il vivra sûrement », un 'af'el et un pe'al.

(28) Traduction grecque (avec un sémitisme) que la Vulgate a encore surinterprétée : « Heureux ceux qui te verront et ont été honorés dans ton amitié, en effet nous, nous vivons seulement une vie mais après la mort notre nom ne sera pas tel ». L'argument de *lectio difficilior* ne peut ici entrer en ligne de compte, faisant appel au développement de la croyance à la résurrection des justes encore plus avancée que dans les traductions grecques du verset, employant le pluriel 'ceux qui' et le 'nous', hors situation dans le texte original. On n'a pas à supposer une *Vorlage* différente de H^B.

du v. 11 fait d'Élie enlevé au ciel et devant revenir avant le jour de Yahvé, l'agent eschatologique de la résurrection de celui qui l'a vu et qui a suivi son enseignement avant de mourir ; il n'a pas à craindre le jugement divin, contrairement à celui qui n'a pas reconnu sa mission (vv. 5-6). (29) *Ben Sira* y évoque aussi une des missions d'Élie lors de la réanimation du fils de la veuve de Sarepta, mission prolongée après son assomption par son disciple Élisée comme le rappelle Si 48,13-14. Aussi selon une tradition juive tardive la résurrection doit arriver par Élie. (30)

1.4 – Daniel

Peu après le livre de *Ben Sira* en hébreu, le chapitre en hébreu de Dn 9,24-25 rapporte l'explication de la prophétie des soixante-dix semaines. Les trois doubles paires : « mettre un terme à la transgression et introduire éternelle justice, apposer les scellés au péché et sceller vision et prophétie, expier l'iniquité et oindre le saint des saints », explicitent les trois fonctions eschatologiques, la première celle du roi-juge, la deuxième celle de l'instructeur-prophète, et la troisième celle du prêtre-officiant au temple. Ces trois fonctions qui se retrouvent dans le *Testament des XII Patriarches*, Lévi 8,11-15 : le maître-prophète, le prêtre et le roi, peuvent remonter à une tradition assez ancienne. (31)

1.5 – 1 Maccabées

Dans son éloge des ancêtres en 1 M 2,58, Mattathias évoque la figure d'Élie qui « pour avoir brûlé du zèle de la Loi a été enlevé jusqu'au ciel », mais sans autre explication. (32) Et lors de la purification du

(29) Des auteurs estiment qu'étant donné la position de *Ben Sira* sur ce sujet, le v. 11 n'appartient pas à l'original mais est une addition tardive, voir J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (London.New York, 1997), p. 128-29, tout comme cette croyance, d'après ces mêmes auteurs, s'opposerait à l'appartenance essénienne de la composition 4Q521. C'est faire fi de l'existence de cette croyance en Israël au moins dès l'époque hellénistique (Is 26,19, *Pseudo-Ézéchiel*, *Daniel* 12) d'une part et, d'autre part, 1-2 Rois où Élie et Élisée ont ramené des morts à la vie. Toutefois, le verset étant attesté par tous les témoins textuels, une telle mission liée au retour d'Élie ne saurait surprendre.

(30) Voir *Mishna Sota* IX 15, et M. Schwab, *Le talmud de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1881), *Shabbat* IV 16s, la résurrection est liée au retour d'Élie.

(31) Voir E. Puech, « Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte », *RQ* 70 (1997) 255-98, p. 266.

(32) Le targum du Pseudo-Jonathan en Dt 33,11 identifie Élie, le prêtre, avec Johanan, le grand prêtre, parfois encore identifié par les auteurs avec Jean Hyrkan I, roi, grand prêtre et prophète, montrant ainsi avoir gardé la tradition d'un retour d'Élie, mais c'est une identification postérieure et secondaire, au plus tôt de la période hasmonéenne.

temple pour la dédicace en 164, il fut décidé de démolir l'autel et d'en déposer les pierres sur le mont du temple 'en attendant la venue d'un prophète qui se prononcerait à leur sujet' (1 M 4,46), ce qui n'est pas sans rappeler la geste d'Élie au sujet des pierres de l'autel avant le sacrifice au Mont Carmel (1 R 18,30-32). Plus tard, Simon fut institué 'prince et grand prêtre pour toujours jusqu'à ce que paraisse un prophète accrédité' (1 M 14,41). Il réunissait sous son propre chef les deux pouvoirs : le politique et le religieux, alors qu'au départ les fonctions royale et sacerdotale étaient distinctes, partagées entre la maison de David et la descendance de Lévi. Ces deux personnages qui reçoivent l'onction, sont à l'origine du messianisme bicéphale bien ancré dans les écrits post-exiliques, Jr 33,17-18, Za 4,14, 1 Ch 29,22, et encore *Jubilés* 31,13-32. (33) Mais dans ces passages de *1 Maccabées*, le prophète attendu ne remplit qu'une fonction juridique, répondre à une question présentement sans réponse, et sans rapport explicite avec la fin des jours ou avec le prophète comme Moïse ou Élie. (34)

2. – Les textes péritestamentaires et les manuscrits de la mer Morte

Parmi cette littérature sont à prendre en considération des livres en araméen, antérieurs à l'occupation qumranienne dont des copies ont été retrouvées à Qumrân, et des compositions en hébreu explicitement esséniennes dues aux deux premières générations.

2.1. – 1 Hénoch

Dans les écrits péritestamentaires, l'*Apocalypse au bestiaire* de *1 Hen* 85-90, contemporaine de *Daniel*, atteste une allusion au retour d'Élie, *1 Hen* 89,52 et 90,31 : (35)

89,52 « L'un de ceux-ci (un mouton) échappa au massacre, s'élança et cria contre les moutons. Ils cherchèrent à le tuer, mais le Maître du troupeau le sauva de leurs coups, l'éleva et le fit demeurer là où je me trouvais ».

(33) Voir Puech, « Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection », *cit.*, p. 265-66.

(34) Voir Jassen, *op. cit.*, p. 149-54.

(35) Traduction d'A. Caquot, « Hénoch - 1 Hénoch », in *La Bib. Écrits intertestamentaires*, sous la direction d'A. Dupont-Sommer et M. Philonenko, (Paris, 1987), p. 586 et 595. Plusieurs manuscrits, 4Q204-207, ont conservé des passages de l'*Apocalypse au bestiaire*, l'*editio princeps* est en préparation par H. Drawnel. D.C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch. "All Nations Shall be Blessed", With a New Translation and Commentary*, (SVTPs 24; Leiden.Boston, 2013), p. 26-27, refuse avec raison de voir dans le taureau blanc une allusion parfois proposée au messie davidique.

90,31 « Puis les trois (personnages) vêtus de blanc — ceux qui auparavant m'avaient fait monter — me prirent par la main, et la main de ce mouton me tenant, ils me firent monter et me replacèrent au milieu des moutons, sans qu'il y ait de jugement ».

Le mouton du troupeau qui a échappé, c'est Élie qui a crié contre Achab et Jézabel, mais le Maître (Dieu) l'a élevé au ciel auprès d'Hénoch (*I Hen* 87,3). Puis lors de la descente d'une Demeure neuve au temps de la fin, Hénoch et Élie en compagnie des trois anges reprennent place au milieu des moutons blancs rassemblés dans la Demeure, c'est la résurrection des morts, la paix eschatologique avec le rassemblement des tous les dispersés. Mais aucune fonction d'Élie n'y est indiquée, seule est mentionnée sa présence lors de la résurrection en compagnie d'Hénoch, les deux seuls personnages de l'Ancien Testament qui, ayant échappé à la mort, étaient entrés dans la gloire dès la fin de leurs jours sur terre, (voir *Si* 48,10 ?). En cela ils sont les prémices des vivants transformés en gloire lors du Jugement, voir *4Q521* 7+5 ii (ci-dessous note 50), et *1 Th* 4,15-17, mais ils ne sont pas des agents de la résurrection, ni des acteurs préparant le jugement qui a déjà eu lieu.

2.2. – 4Q558 - 4QpapVision^b ar 51 ii

Le manuscrit sur papyrus 4Q558 est une copie datée de la fin de l'époque hasmonéenne vers le milieu du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. ou peu avant, (36) mais le document est certainement antérieur au milieu du 2^e s., date de l'exil à Qumrân. Du fragment 51 ii ne sont conservés que quelques restes de lignes :

¹...]des mauvais[... ²...]excepté (celui ?) qui ..[...] ³le huitième comme élu. Et voici que moi,[je ...] ⁴C'est pourquoi j'enverrai Élie avan[t que vienne le jour du Seigneur, jour de l'angoisse(?) qui] ⁵augmentera par l'éclair inte[nse... devant le trône du ⁶gran]d roi, et ...[... ⁷...]encore a ajout[é... ⁸...]malédiction(s)[...

Dans ce contexte très lacuneux, J. Starcky, le premier éditeur, a proposé de lire la venue d'Élie précurseur du messie, en voyant dans 'le huitième comme élu' une allusion à David, huitième fils de Jessé. (37) En effet, à l'époque hellénistique, un rappel du retour d'Élie dans une

(36) Voir E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXVII. Textes araméens, deuxième partie*, (DJD XXXVII; Oxford, 2009), 179-257, p. 181.

(37) J. Starcky, « Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân », *RB* 70 (1963) 481-505, p. 498. Mais la restauration du suffixe, *מדין* pour viser le messie, nouveau David, est très douteuse, et on ne peut utiliser ce fragment pour le messianisme à Qumrân, le document étant très certainement pré-essénien. Il a été montré depuis que

sorte de paraphrase de MI 3,23 paraît assuré, ce que confirme aussi à cette époque Si 48,10. Son rôle y est essentiellement celui du précurseur du grand jour du jugement, jour redoutable (voir ci-dessus), si on retient ma proposition de restauration aux lignes 4-6 avec la mention du Grand Roi siégeant pour le jugement, ce qui rendrait aussi compte, dans ces lignes, des allusions à des malédictions pour les mauvais. (38) Mais l'état de conservation du manuscrit ne permet pas d'avoir une vue plus complète, présence ou absence d'autres agents eschatologiques lors du Jugement, ainsi que leurs fonctions respectives.

2.3. – 4Q521 - 4QApocalypse messianique

Les restes de ce document portant des corrections appartiennent à une copie que la paléographie date dans le premier tiers du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. (39) Mais l'original doit remonter dans la deuxième moitié du 2^e siècle, puisque dans les nombreuses citations l'auteur a systématiquement supprimé le tétragramme et que dans sa composition il emploie le substitut אֲדֹנָי (40) Plusieurs passages concernent notre sujet.

Frgs 2 ii+4 :

¹car les ci]eux et la terre obéiront à son messie, ²[et rien de ce] qu'ils contiennent ne détournera des commandements des saints. ³Raffermissiez-vous, vous qui cherchez le Seigneur dans son service.

⁴N'est-ce pas en cela que vous trouverez le Seigneur, tous ceux qui ont l'espérance dans leur cœur ? ⁵Car le Seigneur discernera les pieux et les justes Il appellera par le(ur) nom, ⁶et sur les humbles reposera Son Esprit et les fidèles Il les renouvellera par Sa force. ⁷Car Il honorera les pieux

le messianisme qumranien n'a pas subi d'évolution, voir Puech, « Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection », *cit.*

(38) Voir Puech, *DJD XXXVII, op. cit.*, p. 215-18, avec quelques révisions. Pour Dieu comme le grand roi, voir Tob 14,2 (4Q196 18 5). Il semble que le début de la ligne 5 rende l'hébreu הַגְּדוֹל de MI 3,23, le féminin du verbe renvoyant alors à la restauration dans la ligne précédente de *e. g.* הַגְּדוֹל traduisant הַגְּדוֹל. Jassen, *op. cit.*, p. 143-44, accepte aussi cette interprétation, mais pour J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, (New York, 1995), p. 116, «The reference to Elijah does not appear to be accompanied by a quotation from Malachi».

(39) Une analyse au radiocarbone donne une datation un peu trop basse : 1σ 35 av.-59 ap., et 2σ 93 av.-80 ap., sans doute due à des contaminations, voir A.J.T. Jull, D.J. Donahue, M. Broshi, and E. Tov, «Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert», *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995) 11-19, p. 14 (= *Atiqot* 28 (1996) 85-91).

(40) Voir E. Puech, « 521. 4QApocalypse messianique », in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XVIII. Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)*, (*DJD XXV*; Oxford, 1998), 1-38. L'occasion m'est donnée d'apporter quelques révisions et corrections de l'édition.

sur un trône de royauté éternelle, ⁸libérant les prisonniers, rendant la vue aux aveugles, redressant les cour[bés]. ⁹Aussi pour toujours je me joindrai[à ceux qui sont ob]jets de compassion (41) et dans Son amour Il [aura pitié (?)], ¹⁰et le fru[it d'une œuv]re bonne ne sera différé pour personne, ¹¹et des actions glorieuses qui n'ont jamais eu lieu, le Seigneur accomplira comme Il l'a d[it], ¹²car Il guérira les blessés et les morts Il fera (re)vivre, les humbles Il évangélisera ¹³et les [indigent]s Il comblera, les déracinés Il conduira et les affamés Il comblera, ¹⁴et [...]..

À la ligne 1, le mot משיח *mešîḥ* peut théoriquement être lu au singulier *mešîḥô* 'son messie' ou au pluriel *mešîḥaw* 'ses messies', le contexte de cette fin de paragraphe faisant défaut pour un choix, seule la suite peut appuyer une lecture.

Au paragraphe suivant Dieu est le sujet des verbes. Il opérera le discernement des fidèles qui observent les commandements et il récompensera chacun. Pour décrire l'action de Dieu qui restaure en mieux ses fidèles telle une nouvelle création, l'auteur emprunte largement au Ps 146,7-9, mais aussi à Is 40,5 ; 45,3 et 61,1. En effet, « et Son Esprit recouvrira les humbles » ועל עניים רוחו תרחף, ligne 6, rappelle Gn 1,2 ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים. Et l'Esprit de Dieu recouvrait les eaux », voir aussi 1 P 4,14 pour un contexte proche. Mais le passage inaugure aussi d'une certaine façon par la mention de « faire revivre des morts » ומתים יחיה, ligne 12 ; la résurrection est un thème absent de ces emprunts bibliques, il est présent cependant dans l'apocalypse d'Is 26,19, et il se retrouve en *Ben Sira* avec le rétablissement des tribus à l'origine du retour des exilés (ici « les déracinés Il conduira » נתושים ינהל, ligne 13, voir Si 48,10b-11). En *I-2 Rois* et Si 48,5, Élie a rendu la vie à l'enfant de la veuve, de même Élisée depuis son tombeau (Si 48,13-14 ci-dessus). 'L'évangélisation des humbles (Is 61,1 לבשר עניים, comparer frg. 2 ii 12, (עניים יבשר), panser les cœurs meurtris, annoncer l'amnistie aux captifs et aux prisonniers la liberté, annoncer une année de grâce de la part de Yahvé et un jour de vengeance pour notre Dieu' est la mission du 'messager' sur qui repose l'Esprit du Seigneur Yahvé et que Yahvé a oint (משה) en Is 61,1-3. En ce sens, le

(41) Je corrige ma précédente lecture en אדיבין במ[חמלים] (lecture assurée : à la cassure de droite *yod* certain et trace de la boucle du *qof*, puis tête de *het* possible, et de *mem* à droite du pied du *lamed* dont la hampe est de part et d'autre de la cassure, voir la racine bien attestée en MI 3,17, sans pouvoir retenir les lectures d'E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings*, Volume Three, (Jerusalem, 2014), p. 233, ligne 9, יעלה וי[חלים] sans appui paléographique pour *reš*, *kaf*, *he* et *het*, et beaucoup trop longue pour l'espace (voir les correspondances du *lamed* et du *pe* de part et d'autre de la cassure), ni de même, ligne 13, ישון[בב] תועים, qui ne rendent pas compte des traces de lettres. En fin de ligne, on peut comprendre avec Is 49,13 : ינהם : « Il aura[pitié] ».

'messenger' est un 'prophète-messie', bien que dans l'AT les prophètes aient rarement été 'oints' (en 1 R 19,6 l'onction d'Élisée confiée à Élie n'est même pas reportée, mais elle est mentionnée en Si 48,8), en revanche dans les écrits esséniens les prophètes sont des 'oints' (CD II 12, IQM XI 7, 4Q377 2 ii 5). Aussi « les actions glorieuses qui n'ont jamais eu lieu et que le Seigneur accomplira comme Il l'a dit » devraient-elles être réalisées par l'intermédiaire de 'Son messie' qui est de fait 'Son messenger' (demandant alors de lire au singulier, ligne 1). En effet les cieux et la terre obéissaient à Élie qui pouvait fermer les cieux et faire descendre le feu. En 11QM*Melkîsédeq* ii 4-25, 'le messenger qui est l'oint de l'Esprit' [משיח הרוח] est Melkîsédeq lui-même apportant la consolation et il agit au nom du Seigneur dans le combat contre Bélial et son lot. En IQH^a XXIII 15-16 Dieu a ouvert (avec le Maître authentique) une fontaine « pour [exal]ter selon Ta vérité le messenger [et pour racon]ter Ta bonté, pour évangéliser les humbles selon l'abondance de Tes miséricordes [et pour ra]ssasier depuis la fontaine de sa[gesse, et pour consoler les con]trits d'esprit et les affligés pour une joie éternelle » [ל[הרי]ם כאמתכה מבשר [ולספ]ר טובכה לבשר עניים לרוב רחמיכה [ולה]שביע ממקור ש[כ]ל [ולנחם]נ כאי רוח ואבליים לשמחת עולם. (42) Ainsi le passage de 4Q521 englobe-t-il tous 'les pauvres' que la miséricorde divine restaurera dans une condition nouvelle. L'auteur comme l'orant tient à se joindre à eux définitivement. Toutefois par la suite seul le Messie Jésus a rendu la vie à des morts, jusque dans sa mort sur la croix (Mt 27,52-53).

Une des missions du prophète Élie, lors de son retour eschatologique en *Malachie* 3, et Si 48,11, était de préparer les fidèles craignant Dieu au Jour de Yahvé, (43) sans oublier le rôle du législateur dans l'annonce des commandements des saints dans l'attente de la venue du Jour de Yahvé qui saura « récompenser ceux qui le cherchent de tout leur cœur ». Cette identification du messenger à Élie dans les deux paragraphes de cette colonne trouve une confirmation au début de la colonne suivante, frgs 2 iii + 5 i + 6 : (44)

(42) Telle est ma lecture de ces lignes.

(43) Voir Collins, *The Scepter*, op. cit., p. 119s, écrit : « Puech takes this to mean that the righteous who die after the return of Elijah will be raised. In view of Ben Sira's skeptical attitude toward life after death, however, there must be doubt as to whether such a belief was part of the original, pre-maccabean book ». Ma pensée vise la mission du retour d'Élie qui rend la vie à ceux qui viendraient à mourir dans l'attente du Jour de Yahvé, il ne s'agit pas de la résurrection eschatologique comme en Dn 12,1-3 mais, semble-t-il, d'un retour à la vie en vue de la participation au royaume du messie. Toutefois, la croyance à la résurrection est déjà bien connue avant l'époque maccabéenne, et *Ben Sira* ne fait pas exception.

(44) Voir Puech, *DJD* XXV, op. cit., p. 2-2 et Pl I, où est montrée la place de ces fragments dans la colonne.

¹et le décret de Ta faveur. Et je les libérerai *dans [leur crainte (?) et Tu les combleras]* ²de consolations : ‘Les pères (re)viennent vers les fils’. *H[heureux tous ceux (?)]* ³que la bénédiction du Seigneur selon sa bienveillance[*a consolés (?) de sorte que*] ⁴la terre a jubilé en tout lie[u ...] ⁵car tout Israël dans l’exultation[*a acclamé son messie (?)*] ⁶et [son] sceptre/[sa] tribu (?), et ils exulteront[..., car] ⁷ils ont trouvé[... ⁸... ils verront ce qu’ ⁹a accompli (?) le Seigne]ur pour celui qui ne servira pas avec ceux-là, ¹⁰[mais qui agira bien avec] son prochain et avec [son] ami, ¹¹[alors ce sera] bon pour toi, et une puissante force ¹²[te sera donnée (?), et grâce à l’abondance de] nourriture les fidèles grandiront ¹³[...

La ligne 1 renvoie à *MI* 3,22b (חוק) et la ligne 2 à *MI* 3,24aα, mais en lisant [נחמים], (45) passage qu’on peut alors restaurer avec *Is* 57,18, et comprendre : « *Et je les libérerai dans [leur crainte (?) et Tu les combleras]* ²de consolations : ‘Les pères (re)viennent vers les fils’ », ou ביום הזה/הנורא [ביום הזה/הנורא], « *Et je les libérerai en[ce jour-là/ au[jour redoutable, et Tu les combleras de]* consolations : ... » (voir frg. 2 ii 5). (46) Si la citation de *Malachie* est partielle, — elle l’était déjà en *Si* 48,10b, — elle est encore abrégée avec le verbe באים au lieu de השיב pour appeler à une reprise des relations, mais le renvoi au prophète Élie est cependant assuré. (47) Il semble même possible de poursuivre avec une béatitude, comme dans la séquence de *Si* 48,10-11, adressée à tous ceux (humbles/fidèles, ...) que la bénédiction du Seigneur *a consolés (?)*, d’autant que les lignes 2 iii 3-5 rappellent *Is* 49,13 : « Cieux criez de joie, exulte terre, montagnes éclatez en cris de joie, car Yahvé a consolé son peuple et de ses affligés il a eu pitié ». Une béatitude comparable sera encore reprise en *Mt* 11,6 // *Lc* 7,23 dans un même contexte. Puis les restes de la colonne orientent vers le royaume messianique terrestre préparé par le retour du messager Élie, et inauguré par le messie roi à sa tête, que l’on comprenne שבט ‘sceptre ou tribu’ ne change rien, voir *Gn* 49,10, מיהודה לא יסור שבט

(45) Je corrige ma précédente lecture נבך, sans pouvoir retenir celles de Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 234, נח[י], ainsi qu’à la ligne 6, שמך. Ce même thème de la consolation est repris en *11QMelkîsédeq* ii 19-21, citant *Is* 61,2-3. La ligne iii 10 est un autre renvoi à *MI* 3,24 selon le grec (non le TH).

(46) Il est possible qu’au bas de la colonne précédente soit rappelée la conversion à l’appel du prophète, e.g. ואת חוק חסדך // וזכרו מצות אשר צויתם אותם, « ils se sont rappelé les commandements que Tu leur as commandés // ¹et le décret de Ta faveur, ... », voir *MI* 3,22 et 4Q521 2 ii 2.

(47) J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, (Grand Rapids, 2016), p. 205-06 et 330, est aussi en faveur de l’identification du ‘messie’ de ce passage à Élie *redivivus* ‘or a prophet like Elijah. Since the identification is not made explicitly, however, it is likely to remain in dispute’, même si l’auteur doute de la composition essénienne de 4Q521.

« le sceptre ne s'éloignera pas de Juda », où les deux termes sont réunis, (48) voir aussi *1 Hen* 51,1-5. Les actions glorieuses accomplies par l'intermédiaire du messenger de Yahvé, retour à la vie, etc., annoncent la bonne nouvelle, la présence du royaume messianique du descendant de David, (49) mais elles précèdent le jugement divin à la fin des jours qui, lui, sera l'œuvre de Dieu seul, créateur et re-créditeur, avec la résurrection des justes et la transformation des justes vivants mais la condamnation éternelle des méchants, comme il est écrit à la colonne suivante, frgs 7+5 ii. (50) Cette tradition assez explicite du rôle du messenger/messie/Élie (51) est à l'origine des affirmations d'autres passages de textes esséniens.

(48) Ou encore *4Q252-4QBénédictions patriarcales*, voir E. Puech, « 4Q252 : "Commentaire de la Genèse A" ou "Bénédictions patriarcales" », *RQ* 102 (2013) 227-51, p. 242-46, malgré les auteurs, voir dernièrement Jassen, *op. cit.*, p. 147, qui refuse le sens 'sceptre' pour celui de 'tribu', or Gn 49,10 tient les deux ensemble, ainsi que Nb 24,17, et *4Q252 V* vise explicitement le messie de Justice, le rejeton de David de la tribu de Juda avec 'le bâton', ou encore *CD VII* 19-20 « Le sceptre c'est le Prince de toute la Congrégation... ». À ce sujet, je renvoie à mon commentaire en *DJD XXV*, *op. cit.*, p. 20, où est citée l'opinion du qaraïte Daniel al-Qumisi, fin du 9^e s., qui, ayant connu les découvertes des grottes de Qumrân à la fin du 8^e s., identifie Élie au Maître de justice, et cite Os 11,12 et Ml 3,23-24, le Maître, docteur, prophète et prêtre, précurseur du messie davidique, de même encore Yefeth ben 'Ali, qui sont en accord avec *4Q252 V* et sans doute aussi *1QH^a XXIII* 14-16, cité ci-dessus en iii, même approche qaraïte encore dans les *Commentaires de Joël, Michée et Osée*. À ce sujet, voir dernièrement, Y. Erder, « Understanding the Qumran Sect in view of Early Karaite Halakhah from Geonic Period », *RQ* 103 (2014) 403-23, p. 422s.

(49) Jassen, *op. cit.*, p. 147-48, refuse que ce soit Dieu qui parle en III 1-2, alors qu'il en va comme à la colonne ii, Dieu parle par son messenger-messie, et il écrit : « Moreover, the prophet in 4Q521 is the principal eschatological protagonist in the events at the end of days. The prophet neither precedes a second eschatological figure nor announces any future eschatological event. Rather, the prophet takes center stage in the Day of Judgment as God's primary agent ». Or le manuscrit sépare les deux événements, venue du messenger et royaume messianique de la résurrection et du jugement final, et il précise au moins les rôles du messie prophète-messenger, le retour d'Élie, et le messie-roi avec son royaume, et sans doute encore le messie-prêtre dans d'autres fragments très mal conservés. La présence d'un bi-messianisme paraît suggérée par la mention de 'tout Israël' en 2 iii 4 en réaction aux Hasmonéens qui accaparaient en un seul chef la grande prêtrise et le pouvoir royal. Mais Collins, *The Scepter*, *op. cit.*, p. 75, ne comprend qu'une seule figure messianique en *4Q521*.

(50) Sur cette colonne, voir dernièrement E. Puech, « Les Esséniens et la croyance à la résurrection : de l'eschatologie zoroastrienne aux notices de Josèphe et d'Hippolyte », in *Sibyls, Scriptures and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. by J. Baden, H. Najman, and E. Tigchelaar, (*JSJSup* 175; Leiden, 2016), 1091-1118, où est réétudiée cette colonne et la croyance à la résurrection dans le corpus essénien.

(51) On ne peut retenir comme vraisemblable « qu'il s'agisse d'un messie royal (angélique ?) », comme le propose J. Duhaime, « Le messie et les saints dans un fragment apocalyptique de Qumrân (4Q521 2) », in *Ce Dieu qui vient? Études sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament offertes au Professeur Bernard Renaud à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, sous la direction de R. Kuntzmann (*LD* 159 ; Paris, 1995), 265-74.

2.4. – 4Q175 - 4QTestimonia 1-7

Cette unique colonne de manuscrit, de la même main que *IQS*, *circa* 100 av. J.-C. ou du premier quart du 1^{er} s., remplace systématiquement le tétragramme par quatre points. Le premier des quatre paragraphes traite de la venue d'un prophète נבי comme Moïse (l. 5) à l'aide de la citation d'Ex 20,21b d'après le texte proto-samaritain, incluant Dt 5,28b-29 et 18,18-19. Un deuxième paragraphe annonce la venue du messie-roi en citant l'oracle de Balaam sur l'étoile et le sceptre en Nb 24,15-17, et le troisième paragraphe citant Dt 33,8-11 applique la bénédiction de Lévi au prêtre des derniers jours, le Maître et interprète de la Loi. (52) La séquence prophète-roi-prêtre est ici imposée par l'ordre des citations des livres du Pentateuque proto-samaritain (non du TM) sans toutefois prétendre changer les préséances.

¹Et parla à Moïse : « Tu as entendu la voix des paroles ²que ce peuple t'a adressées : Ils ont bien parlé en tout ce qu'ils ont dit. ³Qui leur donnera d'avoir un cœur pour Me craindre et pour garder tous ⁴Mes commandements tous les jours, afin qu'ils prospèrent, eux et leurs fils à perpétuité ? ⁵Un prophète comme toi Je leur susciterai du milieu de leurs frères et Je mettrai Mes paroles ⁶dans sa bouche, pour qu'il leur dise tout ce que Je lui prescrirai. Et ainsi, l'homme ⁷qui n'écouterà pas Mes paroles que le prophète dira en Mon nom, Moi, ⁸Je lui en demanderai compte. »

Il est écrit que le prophète eschatologique הנבי (l. 7) qui n'est pas ici dit 'oint', remplira le rôle de la transmission de la loi divine, soulignant ainsi, mais sans la spécifier, la fonction juridique du précurseur agissant au nom de Yahvé. C'est lui qui fera le passage aux réglementations de l'ère eschatologique, celle de la venue du Messie Prêtre et du Messie roi. La mission d'Élie est bien celle du précurseur, de préparer les cœurs à la crainte de Dieu en observant les commandements dans l'attente du jugement divin, le passage renvoyant indirectement à Ml 3,22-24.

2.5. – 1QS - Règle de la Communauté IX 11

La copie de la *Règle de la Communauté* - *IQS*, datée *circa* 100 av. J.-C. ou du premier quart du 1^{er} s., (53) donne des recommandations aux membres de la Communauté. Col. IX 11 :

(52) Le quatrième paragraphe concerne les *Psaumes de Josué*, parallèle à l'autre copie en 4Q379 22 ii. Sur ce sujet, voir E. Puech, « Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué : 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q175, 4Q522, 5Q9 et Mas1039-211 », *RQ* 107 (2016) 45-116, p. 75-78 et 86-90, où les deux fils ont pu être identifiés à Jonathan et Simon Maccabées qui ont versé le sang sur les murs de Jérusalem.

(53) Une copie de la *Règle de la Communauté* - 4Q259-4Q5^e datée du deuxième tiers du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., passe directement de *IQS* VIII 15 à IX 12, mais cela ne prouve

« ⁹... Et ils n'abandonneront aucune maxime de la Loi pour marcher ¹⁰dans toute l'obstination de leur cœur. Mais ils seront régis par les réglementations premières dans lesquelles les hommes de la Communauté ont commencé à être instruits, ¹¹jusqu'à la venue du prophète et des messies d'Aaron et d'Israël » (עד בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרן וישראל).

La *Règle* identifie clairement les trois figures, dans l'ordre, la venue du prophète, du messie prêtre et du messie roi, mais elle ne précise pas leurs fonctions respectives qu'elle laisse cependant supposer, sans doute parce qu'elles sont déjà bien connues, entre autres par la copie *4QApocalypse messianique* (ci-dessus). Le prophète passe certainement pour le précurseur, même si les rôles des deux Messies ne sont pas définis. Le messie prêtre vient en premier, il a la préséance comme il est précisé lors des convocations pour le Conseil de la Communauté et pour les repas en présence du messie roi dans l'Annexe de la *Règle*, *1QSa* II 11-22. (54) Est-ce au prophète qu'il revient de

pas qu'elle est témoin d'une première rédaction de la *Règle* et que *1QS* aurait ici une addition, comme l'écrit S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, (*STDJ* 21: Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997), p. 69-74 ; la copie *4Q259* peut aussi avoir fait des coupures. Quoi qu'il en soit, si un développement a pu intervenir, il aurait eu lieu au plus tard dans le dernier quart du 2^e s. av. J.-C., aussi cette copie n'affecte pas l'attente des figures messianiques, puisque *4Q521* atteste déjà dans la deuxième moitié du 2^e s. la venue du prophète, du messie roi et certainement aussi la présence du messie prêtre. En outre l'absence de toute référence au Maître, Col. VIII-IX semblerait indiquer qu'il est l'auteur de ces lignes et des règles édictées déjà dans la deuxième moitié du 2^e s., voir déjà J.T. Milik, « Milkî-šedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les écrits juifs et chrétiens », *JJS* 22 (1972) 95-144, p. 135, qui « pense pouvoir prouver que la *Règle* primitive embrassant plus ou moins *1QS* V-IX 11 pouvait être composée par le Maître de Justice lui-même au début de son activité entre 150-145 ».

(54) « ¹¹... E[t la s]éance des hommes désignés [invités aux] convocations pour le conseil de la Communauté : Quand ¹²le Messie ¹¹se joindra ^{12a} eux [pour un ban]q[uet], il prendra [place en]tête de toute la Congrégation d'Israël, et tous ¹³[ses] f[il]ères parmi les fils d'Aaron, les prêtres [invités aux] convocations des hommes désignés, siégeront ¹⁴de[vant lui, chacun] selon sa dignité. Et ensuite [viendra le Messie] d'Israël et siégeront devant lui les chefs des ¹⁵mil[l]iers d'Israël, cha[cun selon sa dignité d'après [sa] po[sition] dans leurs camps et dans leurs déplacements, puis tous ¹⁶les chefs des a[nciens de la congrégation avec l]eurs sages et leurs instruits]siégeront devant eux, chacun selon ¹⁷sa dignité. Et[quand ils] se réunir[ont pour une ta]ble commune [ou pour boire du v]in, et qu'est préparée la table ¹⁸commune [et versé le] vin pour [le(?)] banquet, [que] personne [n'étende] sa main vers les prémices ¹⁹du pain et [du vin] avant le Prêtre, car [c'est lui qui doit] bénir les prémices du pain ²⁰et du vi[n et étendre] sa main vers le pain en premier, et ensui[te] le Messie d'Israël [éten]dra ses mains ²¹vers le pain, [et enfin pourra bé]nir toute la congrégation de la Communauté, cha[cun selon] sa dignité. Et selon cette norme ils feront ²²pour tout re[pas où seront] réunis au moins dix hommes. »

Avec la photo PAM 42.926, de loin la plus claire, je reviens sur ma proposition de correction supra-linéaire à la fin de la ligne 11 pour garder יעד 'se joint', voir E. Puech, « Préséance sacerdotale et Messie roi dans la *Règle* de la Congrégation (*1QSa* II 11-22) », *RQ* 63 (1994) 351-65.

changer les réglementations premières lors de leur séparation au désert pour préparer les voies de Yahvé (VIII 12-16) comme il en fut de Moïse, ou des fils d'Aaron (IX 7-8) ? La réponse est donnée dans les *Annexes de la Règle-Règle de la Congrégation* et *4QBénédiction*.

2.6. – CD - Document de Damas

L'attente de la venue des deux Messies, dans l'ordre le Prêtre et le Roi, est plusieurs fois rappelée dans le *Document de Damas*, (55) en CD XIX 10-11, XII 23-XIII 1, XIV 18-19. XIX 33-XX 1 rapporte :

« Ainsi tous ceux qui sont entrés dans l'alliance ³⁴nouvelle au pays de Damas, ont quitté, ont trahi et se sont détournés du puits des eaux vives, ³⁵ne seront pas comptés dans l'assemblée du peuple ni inscrits dans leur liste depuis le jour de la mort du XX¹Docteur de la Communauté jusqu'à l'avènement du messie d'Aaron et (du messie) d'Israël » (עד עומד משיח) (מאהררן ומישראל).

Ces lignes laissent entendre que le Maître a rempli le rôle de l'instructeur-prophète avant la venue des Messies. (56)

À propos du creusement du puits de la Loi qu'ont foré les convertis d'Israël qui sont sortis du pays de Juda et qui séjournent au pays de Damas, suite à l'Alliance des premiers, quand Dieu suscita d'Aaron des hommes intelligents et d'Israël des sages, CD VI 2-11 écrit :

« ⁷... Le bâton (= le législateur) c'est le scrutateur de la Loi dont ⁸Isaïe a dit : 'Il a fabriqué un outil pour son œuvre' (54,16), et les nobles du peuple, ce sont ⁹ceux qui sont venus pour forer le puits avec les préceptes qu'a promulgués le législateur ¹⁰pour qu'ils les suivent durant toute la période de l'impiété et sans lesquels ils ne peuvent trouver jusqu'à l'avènement de ¹¹celui qui enseignera la Justice à la fin des jours ».

(55) Cette composition dans sa rédaction finale qui cite le livre des *Jubilés* et mentionne la mort du Maître, ne peut être antérieure à *circa* 115 av. J.-C. au plus tôt, et le plus ancien manuscrit (4Q266) date de la première moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. Ces données donnent ainsi une fourchette pour sa composition. Au sujet de l'histoire de la rédaction, voir S. White, «A Comparison of the 'A' and 'B' Manuscripts of the Damascus Document», *RQ* 48 (1987) 537-53, les deux Messies sont présents dans les premières étapes de la composition.

(56) L'expression « le messie issue d'Aaron et (celui) issu d'Israël » est une autre manière de CD de désigner les deux messies, le prêtre et le roi des autres compositions esséniennes. Le Maître est dit avoir reçu l'interprétation des prophéties par des révélations ou l'inspiration divine venant de la bouche de Dieu (*IQpesher Ha* II 2-3, VII 4-5). Ainsi peut-il passer pour un prophète législateur comme le Moïse des derniers jours, même s'il ne reçoit jamais le titre de נביא comme en 4Q175.

et *CD VII 18-21* poursuit à propos d'Am 5,26 :

« ... Et l'étoile, c'est le scrutateur de la Loi ¹⁹qui viendra à Damas, comme il est écrit : 'Une étoile s'est avancée de Jacob et un sceptre s'est levé ²⁰d'Israël', le sceptre, c'est le Prince de toute la Congrégation, et à son avènement il sapera ²¹tous les fils de Seth ».

Ces passages laissent entendre que l'Instructeur de Justice est le prophète ou le Messie prêtre, scrutateur de la Loi, distinct du législateur, à côté du Messie roi. (57) Quoi qu'il en soit, il apparaît que cet instructeur à venir remplit le rôle d'un nouveau Moïse, comme en *4Q175*, sans qu'il soit clairement identifié au retour d'Élie, comme il l'a été ensuite par les Qaraïtes. (58)

2.7. – 4QBénédictiones patriarcales - 4Q252 V 3-7

Après la citation de Gn 49,10a au sujet du souverain de la tribu de Juda, *4QBénédictiones patriarcales* - *4Q252 V 3-7* laisse entendre que le Maître est le scrutateur de la Loi qui, avec les membres de sa Communauté, a gardé fidèlement l'alliance de Dieu avec son peuple : (59)

« ... jusqu'à la venue du 'messie de Justice, le rejeton de ⁴David, car à lui et à sa descendance a été donnée l'alliance de la royauté de son peuple jusqu'aux générations perpétuelles. Celui qui ⁵a gardé l'alliance de la royauté de son peuple, c'est la scrutateur de] la Loi avec les hommes de la Communauté, car ⁶[l'alliance du sacerdoce qui a gardé la Loi à la fin des jours], c'est l'assemblée des hommes de ⁷[son conseil... ».

2-8. – 4QMidrash eschatologique - 4Q174 I i 11-12

De même encore *4QMidrash eschatologique* - *4Q174 I i 11-12*, copie datée de l'époque hérodienne ancienne, écrit :

« C'est lui le rejeton de David devant se tenir avec le chercheur de la Loi qui ¹²[viendra] à Si[on à] la fin des jours, comme il est écrit : 'Et Je redresserai la hutte croulante de David' ».

(57) Ce point est très discuté, certains veulent y voir le retour du Maître à la fin de Jours (Dupont-Sommer, Allegro), d'autres interprètent l'Instructeur à venir, le scrutateur de la Loi en VII 18-20, qu'ils identifient au Messie d'Aaron (Van der Woude, Vermes, etc.).

(58) Ayant eu accès à des textes plus complets que ceux retrouvés au XX^e s., Daniel al-Qumisi l'a identifié au Docteur, Élie, prophète et prêtre, voir ci-dessus n. 48.

(59) Pour les lectures, voir Puech, « 4Q252 », *cit.*, p. 242-46.

Le manuscrit atteste par là la coexistence des deux figures au temps du royaume messianique.

2-9. – Peshet de Malachie - 4Q253a I i 1-5

Au sujet de Ml 3,16-18, la copie du *peshet de Malachie* - 4Q253a I i 1-5, datée dans le deuxième tiers du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., promet 'au Maître de] Justice et aux homme[s de la Communauté' le triomphe des justes sur les méchants dans la préparation du Jour de Yahvé qui vient comme un four brûlant. (60) Ce faisant, le Maître passe pour l'Instructeur-prophète eschatologique qu'on identifierait au retour d'Élie.

Si les passages du *CD* ne précisent pas la venue du prophète précédant celle des deux Messies, prêtre et roi, le prêtre pouvant remplir plusieurs des fonctions dévolues au prophète, toutes les compositions esséniennes dès la séparation du groupe au désert au milieu du 2^e s. sont en faveur du bi-messianisme, (61) comme réaction au pouvoir hasmonéen qui a réuni sous un seul chef les pouvoirs politique et religieux. (62) Les passages les plus développés comme les diverses allusions en passant prouvent que les Esséniens espéraient la venue d'un prophète, Élie *redivivus* de la tradition antérieure, précédant la venue du Messie aaronide qui aura préséance sur le Messie davidique. Leur venue inaugurerait une nouvelle époque, le royaume messianique occupé à assurer la victoire d'Israël sur les nations, celle des justes sur les méchants.

(60) Voir G. Brooke, «253a. 4QCommentary on Malachi», in *Qumran Cave 4 XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, (DJD XXII; Oxford, 1996), 213-15. Si la copie est datée du deuxième tiers du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., la composition doit dater de la première moitié du siècle. La suite du *peshet* n'est malheureusement pas conservée, lire : פשרו על מורה [הצדק ועל אנשי] היחד (?).

(61) Le messianisme bicéphale s'enracine dans la tradition du judaïsme post-exilique et n'a pas évolué en diverses étapes dans la communauté essénienne comme certains l'ont prétendu, voir E. Puech, « Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte », *RQ* 70 (1997) 255-98, p. 265-86, que cette note met à jour.

(62) C'est sans doute un des motifs de la séparation des pieux en -152, lorsque Jonathan a été reconnu comme grand prêtre, alors qu'il exerçait déjà le pouvoir politique, de même son frère Simon à sa suite lui que 1 M 14,41 qualifie de prophète, et plus ostensiblement encore Jean Hyrkan son fils qui, au dire de Flavien Josèphe (*Guerre* I ii § 68), « fut le seul à réunir trois grands avantages : le gouvernement de sa nation, le souverain pontificat et le don de prophétie ». Les règnes de ces premiers hasmonéens ont pu provoquer ou renforcer les précisions au sujet des trois figures eschatologiques dans les compositions esséniennes contemporaines.

CONCLUSION

Les passages bibliques et péritestamentaires passés en revue montrent que la tradition eschatologique post-exilique s'est précisée avec *Malachie*, le dernier livre prophétique canonique, faisant précéder le Jour de Yahvé de la venue d'Élie. *Ben Sira* y a ajouté de nouveaux éléments, son rôle de prophète dans le retour des exilés et dans la résurrection. 4Q558 51 ii (dans ce qui en est conservé) et *1 Hénoch* ont retenu la présentation du retour eschatologique d'Élie pour préparer le jugement divin, sans mention des messies sacerdotal et royal déjà présents dans la tradition antérieure, comme le rappelle le livre de *Zacharie*. Dn 9,24-25 annonce la présence des trois agents eschatologiques dont le prophète avec les deux messies. Peu après, l'*Apocalypse messianique* et 4QTestimonia, tout comme en passant la *Règle de la Communauté*, le *Document de Damas*, les *Bénédictiones patriarcales*, le *Midrash eschatologique* et le *Péscher de Malachie*, précisent que la mission du Prophète-instructeur précède la venue des Messies et du royaume messianique. Ainsi le bi-messianisme ou le messianisme bicéphale est constamment affirmé dans toutes les compositions esséniennes, sans les différentes étapes parfois avancées, comme réaction à la pratique hasmonéenne d'un seul oint, rappelée en *1 Maccabées*, cela dès la séparation du groupe des pieux autour du Maître. Le retour d'Élie annoncé en Mt 3,23-24 est attendu et repris dans les compositions ensuite. Mais Élie est déjà venu. Jean le baptiste est bien le prophète qui remplit le rôle du messager annoncé.

Il n'était pas sans intérêt de rappeler le rôle du Prophète précurseur agissant comme messager de Yahvé, et en particulier son rôle dans la chaîne des actions glorieuses qui n'ont jamais eu lieu et que le Seigneur doit accomplir d'après les prophéties. La liste de l'*Apocalypse messianique* 2 ii+4 12-13 est la réponse même de Jésus aux envoyés de Jean en prison qui a entendu parler des œuvres du Christ, et qui lui demande : « Es-tu celui qui doit venir ou devons-nous en attendre un autre ? », et Jésus de répondre : « Allez rapporter à Jean ce que vous entendez et voyez : 'Les aveugles voient et les boiteux marchent, les lépreux sont guéris et les sourds entendent, les morts ressuscitent et les pauvres sont évangélisés' » (Mt 11,2-5). (63) Mais cette fois, c'est le Messie Jésus

(63) La présentation de Mt 11,5 avec les trois hémistiches coordonnés en parataxe (3 × 2) est identique à celle de 4Q521 2+4 ii 12-13, alors que celle de Lc 7,22 a brisé la structure sémitique originale en une série 2 × 3, et est donc secondaire là encore. La réponse de Jésus parallèle à la chaîne de 4Q521 pourrait ne s'appuyer que sur Is 29,18-19 ; 35,5-6 ; 29,19 et 61,1, en gros '*l'apocalypse d'Isaïe*', mais le contenu est le même. Dans la liste des œuvres du messie Jésus, il n'est pas fait mention des exorcismes, sans doute parce que les Écritures ne l'ont pas annoncé ni la

qui remplit ce rôle dans l'accomplissement des œuvres de Dieu, et elles devaient convaincre Jean le Baptiste que les prophéties s'accomplissent ainsi de son vivant. Heureux devrait-il être ! Les évangélistes, Matthieu et Luc (1,17 citant Si 48,10, et Lc 1,32-33.35 au vocabulaire proche de *4Q246-4QApocryphe de Daniel* i-ii : 'il sera grand, le fils de Dieu il sera dit et le fils du Très-Haut on l'appellera, ...'), ont bien compris l'accomplissement des prophéties concernant le retour d'Élie, en Jean le Baptiste, le dernier des prophètes et plus qu'un prophète, le précurseur de la venue du Messie Jésus, prêtre et roi.

Émile PUECH
CNRS-Paris
EBAF-Jérusalem

chaîne de *4Q521*, bien que la guérison de Naaman le syrien (par Élisée) laisse entendre que la formule est bien connue, 2 R 5,11.

PERFORMING THE ESCHATON: APOTROPAIC PERFORMANCE IN THE LITURGY OF THE WAR SCROLL (1)

Summary

From the earliest periods in the study of the War Scroll (1QM), scholars have noted clear liturgical elements. Subsequent generic discussion has revolved around whether this long and well-preserved text was intended as a liturgical handbook or a manual for an eschatological battle with the enemies of the Qumran Movement. But why must we choose one or the other, even at the level of individual passages? This text not only evinces direct adjuration practices (e.g., curses in column XIII) and non-prophylactic elements such as ritual choreography, it conceived of its ritual space in a way that corresponds with what we find in other rites of affliction from Qumran. This movement already believed that its liturgical life found its performative context in the apocalyptically-defined presence of angels and the divine, so liturgical warfare at their sides should be at least considered. Thus, battling with spiritual and political forces through prayer and liturgy was not merely a future goal and activity, but rather something to be enacted regularly and in a manner that is congruent with the movement's apotropaic practices. Such designation will also help to clarify the means and methods of Qumran apotropaic practice, in other rites of affliction.

To say that the field of apocalyptic literature has been in a state of flux would be a gross understatement. Since the now pivotal Uppsala conference nearly four decades ago, (2) scholars have

(1) This article was funded as part of project C2-24 in the Exzellenzcluster „Religion und Politik“ at Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. I would like to thank Lutz Doering, Angela Kim Harkins, Daniel Machiela, and Andrew Perrin for encouragement and critical discussion of this paper at the 2017 SBL International Meeting in Berlin. All deficiencies that remain are solely the responsibility of the author.

(2) See the proceedings of this conference in David Dellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983).

been actively challenging old assumptions and the very foundations of ‘apocalyptic’ as a genre, as the formerly unassailable generic markers were found to be more fluid and complex than formerly argued. Recent scholarship has emphasized links to law and wisdom, while also challenging temporal expectations. The expected outcomes and resultant religious experiences are now being reassessed. New methods and theories—including those of embodiment, space, experience, and new theories relating to genre recognition—have opened new pathways to studying this text group, while also further illustrating its complexity.

However, one area that has received relatively short shrift in this debate has been prayer and liturgy, and their common inclusion in so-called apocalyptic and apocalyptically-oriented texts. The finds at Qumran have illustrated the common nature of apocalyptic themes and tropes in Roman Period Jewish prayers and liturgies, but they have also added to the list of apocalyptically-oriented texts that contain such ritual material as a central element.

In this paper, I will argue that the liturgical and prayer sections of the War Scroll (1QM), especially X–XIV and XVIII–XIX, were designed as present-day boundary-marking rites within the Qumran Movement’s fight with evil spirits and human adversaries. They make creative use of cursing and apotropaic prayer as found elsewhere in the Qumran corpus. These liturgies should not be viewed as a dramatic pre-enactment or rehearsal for a future event, but rather as a set of practices that the performative community viewed as efficacious in the ongoing (possibly daily) battle between the Qumran Movement and evil. I will thus begin by addressing the ongoing discussions of genre, purpose, and redaction in this document. Following this, I will discuss the various apotropaic practices found at Qumran and their inclusion in this document. I will then conclude with a brief discussion of the temporal implications of such ongoing boundary-marking practices in such texts.

1. The Context and Purpose of the Liturgies in the War Scroll

The textual history and purpose(s) of the M tradition remain uncertain and highly controversial. Scholars have debated which documents and sections should be considered within this textual group, as well as what the authors and redactors of the various documents meant to convey. The perceived binary opposition between 1QM as the rule text (סדר) for a future war and as a liturgical compilation has been a mainstay in the interpretation of this scroll and has controlled much of its publication history. Even though few continue to read this document as a plan for an actual future war between the Qumran Movement and the enemies of Israel, the exact nature of the

detailed war narratives and their connection to the liturgical material of this document remain unclear.

It should be noted at the outset that even the textual history and cohesion of this tradition is highly problematical. Since the beginning of its interpretation, 1QM has been regarded as a composite text that, despite its sectarian nature, nonetheless contains much non- (or at least proto-) sectarian material. (3) The collection of the cave 4 and 11 manuscripts has only added to this perceived lack of cohesion. (4) For example, Martin Abegg influentially argues that 4Q491 is actually three separate documents that must be treated individually, and not all of which should be treated as components of the M tradition. However, one of his students, Kipp Davis has recently challenged this view in Abegg's own festschrift. (5) Several documents from both cave 4 and 11 that bear key similarities to the M tradition, though also differ in tangible ways. They have been designated as "War Scroll-Like Texts" (e.g., 4Q285, 4Q471, 4Q497, 11Q14). Even with the liturgical sections, redactional processes have been evident. (6)

(3) For discussion, see Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts*, CQS 6 (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 45–61; *idem*, "War Scroll," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James Charlesworth, PTSDSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 80–203; Andre Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits Esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Paris: Payot, 1964), 181; Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*, BibOr 32 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 89; John Zhu-En Wee, "A Model for the Composition and Purpose of Columns XV–XIX of the War Scroll (1QM)," *RevQ* 21.2 (2003): 263–83; Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, STDJ 76 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); *idem*, "Compositional Layers in the War Scroll (1QM)," in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, et al., STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 153–64.

(4) Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Fragment einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamah Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAW* 69 (1957): 131–51. Maurice Baillet, "Les manuscrits de la Règle de la Guerre de la Grotte 4 de Qumran," *RB* 79 (1972): 353–71; Duhaime, *War Scroll*, 23–35; Schultz, *Conquering*, 60–71; *idem*, "Compositional Layers," 162–63. Regarding 4Q491, see Martin Abegg, "The War Scroll from Cave 1 and 4: A Critical Edition" (PhD diss., Hebrew Union College, 1993); cf. Kipp Davis, "There and Back Again: Reconstruction and Reconciliation of the War Test 4QMilhamah^a (4Q491^{a-c})," in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, ed. Kipp Davis, et al., STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 125–46. Regarding 4Q285, see Martin Abegg, "Messianic Hope and 4Q285," *JBL* 113 (1994): 81–91. William John Lyons, "Possessing the Land: The Qumran Sect and the Eschatological Victory," *DSD* 3.2 (1996): 130–51; Philip S. Alexander, "The Evil Empire: The Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of Jewish Opposition to Rome," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–31.

(5) Abegg, "War Scroll," 12; Davis, "There and Back."

(6) The largest issue in this regard is whether these prayers and liturgies represent two compositional layers or two movements in a unified work. See Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford

Even if we accept that this is a composite document, however, we must still ask the question of why it was redacted. Not surprisingly, the earliest commentators such as Henri Michaud and Yigael Yadin viewed this text as a historical apocalypse that sets out the events of a future battle between the so-called ‘sectarians’ of Qumran and the evil representatives of Belial on earth. (7) To this end, both K. M. T. Atkinson and Jean Duhaime have argued that this work represents an adaptation of a Graeco-Roman tactical manual, meant to set out the military strategies of such a war for the sectarians. (8) Setting aside the pluriform issues with the genre ‘apocalypse’, many have noted problems with this generic identification. Firstly, even in the standard definition of an apocalypse as offered by John J. Collins, (9) an intermediary offering revelation is necessary, though such direct revelatory agency is missing from this text. (10) Secondly, unlike in the tactical manuals of the Romans, the Qumran Movement would have had no chance of ever winning, a point which severely limits the analogy. Duhaime himself must admit that 1QM’s eschatological and utopian natures—two dominant elements in this work—are entirely missing from the Roman works. (11)

Another proposed genre of and purpose for the War Scroll has arisen alongside that of the military narrative: a liturgical manual. This proposal has taken multiple forms. Jean Carmignac argued that the large amount of liturgical material mixed with the narratives which are themselves marked by ‘false realism’ and ‘true utopia’ points towards this document acting as a ‘liturgical event.’ (12) Robert North expands this liturgical definition to that of an “allegorical-dramatic-liturgical”

University Press, 1962), 18–33; Schultz, “Compositional Layers,” 159–62; Wee, “Model,” 263–83.

(7) Yadin, *Scroll*; Henri Michaud, “Une apocalypse nouvelle: La guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils des ténèbres,” *Positions Luthériennes* 3 (1955): 64–76.

(8) See K. M. T. Atkinson, “The Historical Setting of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness,” *BJRL* 40 (1957–58): 272–97; Jean Duhaime, “The War Scroll from Qumran and the Greco-Roman Tactical Treatises,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 133–51.

(9) “A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world.” John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–19.

(10) See Mathias Delcor, “La guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres ou le ‘Manuel du parfait combattant,’” *NRTh* 77 (1955): 372–99.

(11) Duhaime, *War Scroll*, 59.

(12) Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1958), xi–xii.

text that has no place in the battlefield; according to North, even the detailed battle plans of columns I–IX are merely the preparation of sacred paraphernalia by a sacristan. (13) Likewise, Svend Holm-Nielsen opined that the War Scroll was “a sort of cultic drama” and Eduard Nielsen argued that it was a symbolic representations of the religious practices of the community from Qumran. (14) Matthias Krieg has similarly argued that 1QM is an ‘eschatological realization’ of the Qumran Community’s cultic practices, in which the speeches and prayers are represented symbolically as the ultimate victory of God and Israel over their enemies. (15) For Krieg, 1QM 15–19 was especially notable as a ‘*Kulturdrama*’ in which the eschatological battle was dramatized ritually. Crispin Fletcher-Louis likewise reads 1QM as a priestly manual of liturgy meant to celebrate the separation of darkness and light at the *Tamîd* offering. (16) More recently, Daniel Falk has compared the texts, both liturgical and narrative, to various other Qumran prayers and liturgies, arguing that the defeat of the forces of darkness has many parallels to the daily prayer practices described in Qumran texts. (17) Liturgical readings have, in my opinion, carried the day, as they are able to account for a much greater degree of detail regarding 1QM.

Given the religious nature of these texts, we must also ask what the intended religious experience should be of these texts. In a landmark study on the purposes of the *War Scroll*, Steven Weitzman argues that this document was meant to strengthen the hearts of the sectarians and lead to a fervor for fighting that would be realized only later. For Weitzman, this work was intended to stoke the religious and ideological intensity of the ritual performers through both rallying speeches and pre-enacted victory. (18) Likewise, Christophe Batsch has contended that the purpose of the War Scroll was to instill ‘zeal for God’ and a desire to remain ritually pure on the part of the priestly performers, as they prepare for the eventual fulfillment of these eschatological

(13) Robert North, “‘Kittim’ War or ‘Sectaries’ Liturgies?” *Bib* 39 (1958): 84–93.

(14) Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 345–46; Eduard Nielsen, “La guerre considérée comme une religion et la religion comme une guerre,” *ST* 15 (1961): 93–112.

(15) Matthias Krieg, “Mo’ed Naqam – ein Kulturdrama aus Qumran: Beobachtungen an der Kriegerrolle,” *TZ* 41 (1985): 3–30.

(16) Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 457.

(17) Daniel K. Falk, “Prayer, Liturgy, and War,” in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, ed. Kipp Davis, et al., STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 275–94.

(18) Steven Weitzman, “Warring against Terror: The War Scroll and the Mobilization of Emotion,” *JSJ* 40 (2009): 213–41.

hopes. (19) Finally, Alex Jassen has recently offered a much more detailed and theoretically-astute argument that the entire drama of 1QM is a propagandistic tool meant to magnify the desire for violence in a coming war. Following Ingo Schröder and Bettina Schmidt, (20) Jassen argues that the use of ‘violent imaginaries’—i.e., a process in which future violence is imagined in detail in order to translate imaginary violence into practical violence—stokes animosity and blood-lust towards the movement’s enemies in order to increase the likelihood of a future physical conflict. (21)

In all three of the above cases, I agree that much of these texts would build the fervor of the performative community in a variety of ways, especially through the ritual reification of boundaries. However, in the following study, it is in the instrumentality of the prayers in such stoking of emotion that I will differ. Through all of the above studies, there is an underlying assumption of conscious guile on the part of the authors and ritual functionaries, as they build the fervor of the performative community. However, I suspect that, as is usually the case, the motives of the community’s leadership are much more complex. The leaders seem implicitly to believe in the truth of this purported battle and their eventual triumph. Not merely propagandistic, these texts expected a high level of ritual efficacy. The enactment of this war through ritual was not a pre-cursor to the battle, but a key component of it. The community and its leaders underwent a continual process of identity building that included this need to self-protect through ritual. Just as Joseph Angel has recently argued was the case for 4QShir^{a-b}, the practice of liturgies, especially rituals of protection, leads worshipers to self-understanding through the realization of essential Qumran ideologies, praxis, and boundaries. (22) Thus, I will argue that this text was both a manual for battle and a liturgy, or to be more precise, a manual for battle *through* liturgy. This was not thought of as a cultic drama or pre-enactment, but rather the efficacious practice of important rites of affliction in the daily lives of the covenanters.

(19) Christophe Batsch, “Priests in Warfare in Second Temple Judaism: 1QM, or the *Anti-Phinehas*,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 163–78.

(20) Ingo W. Schröder and Bettina E. Schmidt, “Introduction: Violent Imaginaries and Violent Practices,” in *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, ed. Ingo W. Schröder and Bettina E. Schmidt (London: Routledge, 2001), 1–24.

(21) Alex P. Jassen, “Violent Imaginaries and Practical Violence in the *War Scroll*,” in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, ed. Kipp Davis, et al., STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 175–203.

(22) Joseph L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 – 511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

2. A Qumran Apotropaic Practice (?)

While many questions still exist and demand attention in this discussion, the apotropaic methods and strategies of the Qumran Movement appear to be relatively coherent and logical, if somewhat inconsistent. Esther Eshel, Armin Lange, Philip Alexander, Esther Chazon, and Bilhah Nitzan have all contributed important works to the clarification of the specific boundary-marking rituals and practices of this group. Generally speaking, the key concepts here are the desire to keep evil at bay—despite evil's current (though fleeting) dominion—through methods that do not include direct invocation of the divine name as a 'word of power' nor divine coercion through aggressive incantation, and the importance of personal and communal purity. As I and others have argued, such practices pervaded the prayer and liturgical corpora from Qumran, not merely those texts defined as rites of affliction. Thus, before commencing the actual comparative work of this paper, it would be helpful to briefly survey the concepts and secondary literature of this discussion.

David Flusser is generally regarded as the first to note a specifically Qumran apotropaic tradition. In a 1966 article entitled "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," Flusser used the prayer of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document (4QLevi^a 1 i 14–18) and the Plea for Deliverance (11QPs^a XIX) to note specific traits that differed from later Jewish boundary-marking rites. (23) For Flusser, the important points were the emphasis placed upon God-given knowledge of Law and Wisdom, purification, protection against sin as a tangible element, and deliverance from Satan. On the latter point, Flusser noted the common plea "Let not Satan rule over me," which he takes as an adaptation of Ps 119:133b with Satan taking the place of more generalized 'iniquity.' (24)

As more texts became available, scholars were able both to confirm to some degree and to add greater detail to Flusser's notion of a Qumran system of apotropaic practices. The most important element noted by subsequent scholars was the use of praise of God as the active element in keeping evil at bay. In the introduction to her *edition principes* of 4QIncantation, which stands with 4QShir^{a-b} as the best examples of sectarian apotropaic prayer, Esther Chazon offered a list of common

(23) David Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205.

(24) Flusser, "Qumran," 196. However, Armin Lange has questioned whether it was not Ps 119:133b that adapted this early formula; Armin Lange, "Considerations Concerning the 'Spirit of Impurity' in Zech 13:2," in *Die Dämonen/Demons*, ed. Armin Lange (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 254–68 (here 262).

attributes amongst such sectarian boundary-marking rituals. She listed 1) the use of the phrase **ואני מיראי אל** “And as for me, I spread the fear of God...”, 2) the motif of contending spirits within the speaker’s body, 3) the ‘Law of God’ as an element of spiritual purity and protection, 4) stress on divinely given gifts and attributes as prophylactic elements, 5) Enochic terminology for evil spirits, and 6) reference to the limited duration of evil’s dominion. (25) According to Chazon, the fact that we find five or six of these elements together in 4QIncantations 1, 4QShir^b 35, and 4QShir^b 48–49+51 is significant, as it shows that these were understood as a distinct formulary. (26) While all of these are important, the prevalence of the Law, divine gifts, and limited dominion are important for our purposes moving forwards. In terms of divine gifts, the speaker of such communal prophylactic prayers often stresses wisdom, strength, and righteousness, which are often referred to as spirits of their own.

Scholars have generally taken the Maskil’s statement, “And I, the *Maskil*, declare the splendor of his radiance in order to frighten and to terr[ify] all the spirits...” (**ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[ל]הל**) in 4QShir^a 1 i 4–5 as a programmatic, methodological statement for the communal barring of evil spirits of all kinds. (27) For Eshel, this differentiates what we find in sectarian apotropaic prayers from outside incantations, as she states “whereas apotropaic prayers request God’s protection from threatening external evil forces, incantations address the evil forces directly, seeking to expel demons already at work.” (28)

(25) DJD XXXIX, 370–71.

(26) DJD XXXIX, 370–71.

(27) Philip S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–37 (here 320); Esther Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Die Dämonen/Demons*, ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395–414 (here 410); *eadem*, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88; Florentino García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109–30 (here 119); Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 248; Andrew R. Krause, “Protected Sects: The Apotropaic Performance and Function of 4QIncantation and 4QSongs of the Maskil and Their Relevance for the Study of the *Hodayot*,” *JAJ* 5.1 (2014): 25–39 (here 28–29). This fits well with the common use of **ואני מיראי אל** in 4QIncantation 1 1 and 4QShir^b 35 6.

(28) Eshel, “Apotropaic,” 69.

However, we have good reason to problematize this definition of ‘incantation.’ Incantation is better defined using James Frazer’s definition of magic as the belief that “the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the proper spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired result.” (29) Michael Swartz is correct to note that, despite a clearly conservative and Temple-focused proclivity in ritual, many of the rituals in both the Qumran and the Rabbinic corpora show clear signs of formulas that expect a definitive, set result. (30) Thus, we should follow Pieter van der Horst and Judith Newman in understanding that prayer and such magical formularies are on a continuum; they are not binary oppositions. (31) Indeed, as Nitzan, Chazon, and Stuckenbruck have shown, many features of the above-mentioned apotropaic texts still fit this broader definition of ‘incantation’ and coincide with features of non-sectarian rites of affliction. (32) Either way, the stress is placed on the praise of God as the source of protection. The understanding of Law, spiritual gifts such as wisdom and strength, and the temporal limits placed on evil’s dominion are all examples of what makes God praise-worthy. The latter especially speaks to the absolute control that God exercises on history and the preordination of the ultimate victory of the righteous few. As Alexander notes, the *Maskilim* merely “reminds the demons of the majesty and power of God,” and therefore has no need for *materia magica* such as divine-name incantations. (33)

However, one of the questions that we must keep in mind as we move forward is just how ‘sectarian’ these practices are. Not only is this group term being radically redefined (if not omitted entirely) due to the welcome recognition of diversity within the Qumran Movement,

(29) James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Reprint (London: Chancellor Press, 1994), 49. For further discussion, see W. J. Lyons and A. M. Reimer, “The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 16–32; Krause, “Protected Sects,” 26–27.

(30) See Michael D. Swartz, “Magical Piety in Ancient and Medieval Judaism,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, RGRW 129 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 167–83; *idem*, “Sacrificial Themes in Jewish Magic,” in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, eds. Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer, RGRW 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 303–15; See also discussion of similar issues in the Egyptian Greek Magical Papyri in Sarah Iles Johnston, “Sacrifice in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, 344–58.

(31) Pieter van der Horst and Judith H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek: A Commentary*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 219.

(32) Nitzan, *Qumran*, 231; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Pleas for Deliverance from the Demonic in Early Jewish Texts,” in *Studies in Jewish Prayer*, ed. Robert Hayward and Bradley Embry, JSSSup 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 55–73; DJD XXXIX, 370–71.

(33) Alexander, “Wrestling,” 323.

but, as we have seen above, many of these same elements were found by Flusser in two 'non-sectarian' scrolls (4QLevi^a; 11QPsa^a), as well as several pseudepigrapha. Even later texts that come from a time when divine-name incantations were common, magicians purposefully omitted such names and referred to the substitution of other elements as *kinnuy* ('substitute') in texts such as *Ma'aseh Merkavah*. (34) Also, we should question whether the writers of these texts specifically refrained from divine-name incantation due to the anachronistic comparison to late-antique Jewish magical texts and therefore needing to find other ways of drawing boundaries against evil spirits, or whether it was simply a matter of the all-encompassing nature of Qumran predeterminism and the resultant, inevitable victory of God being sufficient to scare away any and all evil spirits. The use of the Tetragrammaton was sufficiently 'out of bounds' to obviate any thought of its usage, and the covenanter merely needed to acknowledge the limits of the spirit's power.

Finally, many scholars have noted that rites of affliction in general and apotropaic prayers in particular evince participation in an apocalyptically-oriented worldview through their battle with evil. (35) Aspects such as chronologically-limited 'dominions' and 'appointed times' in this battle illustrate the periodization of history. According to Alexander,

The liturgies of the sect are weapons in this cosmic battle, aimed at defending the sons of light against spiritual attack. The concept of liturgy as spiritual warfare seems to have been pervasive at Qumran. (36)

Alexander notes that the cosmological defeat of evil is constantly referenced in the *Songs of the Maskil*. Aspects such as chronologically-limited 'dominions' and 'appointed times' in this battle illustrate the periodization of history. Thus, not surprisingly, we even find a mention of the people and priests as an army with the angels in 4QShir^b 35 4, just as we find throughout the War Scroll. Indeed, as Daniel Falk aptly states, "for the Yahad, worship is warfare." (37) Nitzan cautions that in the present age, the Qumran Movement merely partakes in a defensive battle until the ultimate victory. (38) However, if texts such as the

(34) See Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 175; Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 145–46.

(35) See Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 271–72.

(36) Alexander, "Wrestling," 335.

(37) Falk, "Prayer," 288.

(38) Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 272.

War Scroll, which are commonly thought to illustrate so-called ‘sectarian’ eschatology, were shown to be more temporally embedded and practical, we would have to question such assumptions. As we will see, we have good reason to believe that the ultimate battle was well underway and that the eschatological war was currently being fought through the War Scroll, not merely based on its plan.

3. Apotropaic Practice in the War Scroll

As noted above, apotropaic prayers are remarkably diffuse in the Qumran Scrolls, as the need to protect the community and its spaces permeated all facets of Qumran religious practice. This diffusion, along with the abovementioned consistency of these practices with what we know of the movement’s theology, should keep us from being too surprised at finding such practices in the liturgy of the War Scroll. However, as previously stated, the politico-liturgical purposes of this document should lead us to expect high levels of such community protection. In this expectation, we are not disappointed. Within the liturgical sections in the latter half of 1QM, these practices pervade. For the sake of ease, I will separate these elements into four broad categories of apotropaic practice, 1) Blessings and Curses, 2) Divine Gifts, 3) Nightly Battles, and 4) the End of Evil’s Dominion.

3.1. *Blessings and Curses*

The most obvious afflictive rites in the liturgy of the War Scroll remains the use of a truncated covenant blessing and curse section in column XIII. Following the example of Deut 27, Qumran covenant curses effectively create community boundaries for both outside humans and unwanted spirits, all of whom are related to Belial and his evil designs. Such rites who may or may not enter the desert camps and later the Land. The latter category is important, as the blessings of this short section, like many texts within 1QM, specifically refer to God as ‘the God of Israel.’ Interestingly, one of the closest parallels to the liturgical choreography for the blessings and curses in IQS II 21–22, in which the community is grouped into the martial procession of “thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens” with the groups organized based on rank, is 1QM III 12–18. (39) Thus, even before the actual recitation of the blessings and curses of both texts, we have clear spatial and ideological differentiation within the performing community and in a manner congruent with the adversarial nature of the rituals themselves.

(39) See Yadin, *Scroll*, 59–62; for a more recent look at the liturgical use of this trope, see Falk, “Prayer,” 285–89.

However, the best parallel to this short blessings and curses section remains 4QBerakhōt. As Davila notes, these curses are replete with language common to the dualities and curses of 1QM XIII. (40) The resultant dichotomy stresses the lot of the wicked versus that of the righteous, as well as heavenly versus chthonic spatial markers for the two lots, as the elect practice heavenly worship and those of Belial's lot are cursed along with him to Sheol. 1QM XIII 4–6 states,

And cursed is Belial for his contentious purpose, and accursed for his reprehensible rule (ואֲרִיִּר בְּלִיעַל בְּמַחֲשַׁבַּת מִשְׁטָמָה וְזֶעֱמָה הוּאָהּ בְּמִשְׁרַת אֲשַׁמְתָּו). And cursed are all spirits of his lot for their wicked purpose. *vacat* Accursed are they for all their filthy dirty service. For they are the lot of darkness, but the lot of God is light eternal.

The absence of clear references to humans among those of Belial's lot does not mean that humans are neither present nor being cursed; in both 1QM XIII and 4QBerakhōt, those outside the elect performative community have their lot intrinsically tied to Belial and his machinations. (41) It has become a truism that the Qumran Movement sought (and believed that it had attained, to some degree) participation in the heavenly worship. However, as in 4QBerakhōt, it is no stretch to go beyond this to see the death promised to those outside the community as the antithesis to such an ontological zenith, a death which is spoken of in great detail throughout the War Scroll. Just as the group truly thought that it could attain heavenly consciousness, so too it believed that those it adjured were marked for destruction. This comparison is strengthened by the reiteration in 4QM^a 8–10 i 15, “as a fire bur[ning] in the dark places of the damned. Let it bu[rn] the damned of Sheol, [as an eternal burning among the tra]nsgressors” (אֲשֶׁר בִּן עֶרְוַת בְּמַחֲשָׁכִי) (אֲבֻדוֹנִים בְּאֲבֻדוֹנֵי שְׁאוֹל תִּזְקֶךָ לְשַׂרְפָּה עוֹלָמִים כְּ[וְשָׁעִים]). Also, as in the covenantal blessings of 1QS II, the blessings are carefully worded in order to stress their being limited to those who God has chosen, which further reifies the social and spiritual boundaries of the performative community.

3.2. *Praise and Divine Gifts*

While not as clear in terms of afflictive purpose, praise was actually the primary method of defending the communities of God's elect. Much like the so-called sectarian apotropaic prayers discussed above,

(40) Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 59–62.

(41) Contra Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, “Evil at Qumran,” in *Evil in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Chris Keith and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, WUNT 2.417 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 27; Leonhardt-Balzer does note the inclusion of a curse against humans in 4QBer^a 7a ii 11–12 and 4QBer^b 6, 10–11.

the liturgies of the War Scroll are replete with praise of God that assumes direct efficacy in the defeat of evil spirits and related humans. God is praised for his direct intervention, though he is also praised for giving the various gifts of that allow the performative community to stand against Belial and the various Kittim. These gifts included strength, various types of wisdom, Torah understanding, and truth.

The liturgical section opens with a passage of protracted praise (1QM X 8–13), which specifically extols divinely-given wisdom and knowledge of law, as well as God’s work in creation:

Who is like You, O God of Israel, in h[ea]ven and on earth, that he can perform in accordance with Your great works and Your great strength (כמעשיכה הגדלים וכנבורתכה החזקה). Who is like Your people Israel, whom You have chosen for Yourself from all the peoples of the lands; the people of the holy ones of the covenant, learned in the statutes, enlightened in understand[ing] [] those who hear the glorious voice and see the holy angels, whose ears are open; hearing deep things. [] the expanse of the skies, the host of luminaries; the task of spirits and the dominion of holy ones; the treasures of [] gl[ory] [] clouds. He who created the earth and the limits of her divisions into wilderness and plain, and all her offspring, with their fru[its] [], the circle of the seas, the sources of the rivers, and the rift of the deeps...

The passage continues on to list the divisions of various creatures, the confusion of languages, ethnic groups, and the holy festivals among other things. In many ways, this passage acts as a programmatic piece of praise that sums up the praise and victory to come. Divine election of Israel, Torah understanding, wisdom, revelation, and God’s many mighty and creational works are all central to this afflictive praise. God is lauded for firm control of all things. This creational element deserves to be highlighted, as it stands in many ways as God’s claim to supreme power. Other rites of affliction make reference to this creational power, as well: Jub 12:16–27; 11QapocPs^a II 10–12; 4QBer^a 3 4–7 i 7. The inclusion of this motif in 4QBerakhhot is especially important, as this pericope lists God’s creative achievements from the heavens and moving down to the earth as the primary reasons for blessing God, as this text explicitly contrasts with the aforementioned inevitable chthonic fate of Belial and all of those related to him in Sheol and Abaddon (4QBer^a 7a ii 2–12; 4QBer^b 6 4), which we also find in 1QM XIII 10–11. (42) Just as

(42) The pattern of praise for God’s creation in a descending listing is also attested in Pss 103, 148; the *Prayer of Azariah*; and 4QWords of the Luminaries’ thanksgiving prayer for the Sabbath (4QDibHam^a 1–2 vii 4–9). See Bilhah Nitzan, “Textual, Literary, and Religious Character of 4QBerakhhot (4Q286–290),” in *The Provo International*

the dominion of evil is even set by God as a show of his power and control (here we see that he has given the ‘holy ones’ some dominion) in terms of chronological elements, the complete work of creation is a spatial show of power on God’s part, as stated explicitly in 1QM X 8.

As always, creation is connected to wisdom in such texts. In the above text, we see that God has made Israel, “learned in the statutes, enlightened in understand[ing] [] those who hear the glorious voice” (ומלומדי חוק משכילי בינָה] ◦◦[] ◦◦[ושומעי קול נכבד) in 1QM X 10. David Flusser, in his aforementioned early study, argued that wisdom was an important formal indicator of apotropaic prayers. Ida Frölich has gone so far as to refer to 4QShir^{a-b} as “hymnic poems of wisdom.” (43) 4QIncantation I 1–4 provide a succinct connection between wisdom and Torah understanding and the defeat of evil:

And as for me, because of my fearing God, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and from his holy spirit [] truth to a[] [the]se. They became spirits of controversy in my (bodily) structure (יהיו לרוח) (ריב במבנית); law[s of God [] in]blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness, God put in [my] he[art [] And strengthen yourself by the laws of God, and in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness, and not []

God’s truth and wisdom are continually presented as inimical to the purposes of Belial and other evil forces. We also find this connection between God-given knowledge and wisdom in several texts from the Songs of the Maskil, for example in 4QShir^b 48–49+51 1–3:

His knowledge he put [in my] hear[t [] the praises of His righteousness, and [] and by His mouth he frightens [all the [] spirits] of the bastards to subdue [] uncleanness.

At times, this wisdom even acts as the source of light given to the Sons of Light (4QShir^b 18 ii 8). Thus such wisdom and knowledge both set the people apart and allow them to guard the boundaries of this election. Not surprisingly, such wisdom is often paired with God’s mighty salvific work (גבורה) on his peoples’ behalf in apotropaic prayers (e.g., 4QShir^a 1 1–2; 4QShir^b 2 ii 6–7; 1QH^a XV 6–7), just as it is in 1QM XIV 13 where the connection of God’s truth and mighty deeds is part of the apotropaic praise. (44)

Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 639.

(43) Flusser, “Qumran,” 194–205; Ida Frölich, “Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts,” *Henoch* 32 (2010): 101–29 (here 101).

(44) On this connection between wisdom and God’s mighty deeds (גבורה), see Roland E. Murphy, “GBR and GBWRH in the Qumran Writings,” in *Lex Tua Veritas*:

As we have seen, God given strength leads directly to victory in the apotropaic prayers. The agency of God in this victory is clear. However, the *War Scroll* takes this agency even further by using the biblical trope of ‘the Hand of God’ in his victory. In the imprecatory psalm of 1QM XI, along with the refrain of “For the battle is yours!” (המלחמה לכה אם כיא), we are told specifically that Goliath was given over into the hands of David (line 2), that the community lacks power in its own hands and thus need God’s strength and aid (5), that it is by the hands of the anointed ones that the time of God’s victory was pronounced and,

You may glorify Yourself {fight} among our enemies, to bring down the hordes of Belial, the seven vainglorious nations, at the hand of the oppressed whom You have redeemed [] and retribution; a wondrous strength. A heart that melts shall be as a door of hope. (1QM XI 8–9). (45)

Conversely, God’s hand is actively used against the enemies in the victory in 1QM XVII 1–3,

when the great hand of God shall be li[f]ted up against Belial and against all the [] of his dominion for an eternal slaughter . . . the God of Israel shall raise His hand against the whole multitude of Belial . . . the hand of Your mercies with us in eternal redemption, in order to remove the domi[n]ion of the enemy, that it might be no more, the hand of Your strength.

According Kohler-Baumgartner, יד אל can connote God’s hand, as well as strength or even violence. (46)

Finally, two similar thanksgiving psalms are recorded in 1QM XII 11–18 and XVIII 1–8. In both cases, God is asked to defeat the enemy in a violent and final manner, which is then followed by a call for all of God’s people (i.e., Zion) to rejoice and praise God for the victory that he has given to his people. While these texts seem at first to be future oriented psalms for after the final victory, the use of both perfect and imperfect verbs in the text should force us to treat the temporal nature of these texts as ambiguous. Following a petition for God to destroy his enemies, 1QM XII 12–14 implores

Festschrift für Hubert Junker, ed. H. Groß and F. Mußner (Berlin: Paulinus-Verlag Trier, 1961), 137–43.

(45) For the idea of something being given over the people’s hands by God, see Jud 4:7, Jer 18:21.

(46) *HALOT* 1.387–88. Cf. Exo 14:31; Deut 2:15.

O Zion, rejoice greatly, and shine with joyful songs, O Jerusalem. Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open your gate[s] forever that the wealth of the nations might be brought to you, and their kings shall serve you.

Thus, the Divine Warrior is called upon not only to destroy the enemies of his people and to take the requisite plunder, he is to refill the land with appropriate, good things. As a response, Zion and Jerusalem (both cited) are to praise him. According to Daniel Falk, this hymn in 1QM XII is likely a pre-existing hymn that was ‘awkwardly’ redacted here. (47) He notes that the latter section of praise is a shorter sort of ‘Apostrophe of Zion,’ given the clear parallels to 11QPs^a XXII. (48) This theme is taken up again in the later hymn of 1QM XIX,

Fill Your land with glory, and Your inheritance with blessing. An ab[undance] [] in Your palaces. O Zion, rejoice greatly, and rejoice, all you cities of Ju[dah . . . [] Your [camp]s and Israel for an [un]ending dominion. (1QM XIX 4b–5, 8)

Zion and all the cities of Judah are again addressed as needing to praise God for this work. Such praise matches what we would expect in an apotropaic text, even if in greater detail. In fact, we should note similarities to 4QShir^b 10 7–9,

Sing for joy, O righteous ones,] (vacat?) for the God of Wonder. The psalms of his glory are for the upright. [And let] all those who are blameless exalt Him! (vacat) With the lyre of salvation they [shall ope]n their mouths for God’s compassion. They shall seek His manna.

Thus, the praise texts found in 1QM seem to fulfill much of what this text demands.

Many scholars have taken the hymns of 1QM XII and XIX to be a doublet, though we are better suited treating this as an elaborate recurrence. (49) However, such recurrence should not be treated as a mere literary stress and fulfillment, but should further cause us to question many of the assumptions we have of the future-orientation and finality of this text in a singular future event, rather than ongoing battle fought at appointed times but which is already won. Indeed as John Collins stated two decades ago regarding this text, the purpose of 1QM,

(47) Falk, “Prayer,” 283. Falk notes a number of inconsistencies in this text, including alternating from speaking of God in second- and third-person and an awkward transition to a ‘we’ section for the performative community.

(48) Falk, “Prayer,” 283.

(49) John Zhu-En Wee has noted the propensity of XVI–XIX to take up the themes in the X–XIV, forming a conclusion; Wee, “Model,” 263–83.

as a *serekh*, is not to disclose what is to happen, but to prescribe what should be done based upon what is at hand, which itself “implies greater immediacy than is usual in apocalyptic references to the final battle.” (50) If such texts are read as not only praise to God for deliverance for foes, but also the active means of such deliverance, it would make more sense of its repetition and temporal ambiguity. The recurrence of this motif once in the day and once at night matches the cycles of prayer to which many Second Temple Period Jews subscribed.

3.3. *Nightly Battles*

Many scholars have noted the difficulty of 1QM XVIII–XIX being performed at night. However, the practice of reciting protective prayers at night has been attested in multiple Qumran texts, matching what several texts would lead us to expect during this period. (51) In some texts, Belial is linked to fear and terror (1QS I 17), just as he is synonymous with the darkness (1QMysteries 1 5). 1QS X 2 places the beginning of evening prayer at the time of the beginning of the “watches of darkness” (אשמורי חושך). (52) Other afflictive texts such as 11Q11 V 5–7 and 4Q560 1 i 5 illustrate the fear that individuals and communities will be attacked by demonic forces at night. (53) Even in the demon lists of 4QSongs of the Maskil, we find Lilith (who stole or harmed babies at night) and several nocturnal animals, which point to a concern for such attacks at night. This is further strengthened by 4Q503 33i+34 19 and 1QS VI 7–8, both of which note the use of apotropaic prayers in the evening. In the case of 4QDaily Prayers, we are told often that prayers occurred in “all the appointed times of the night” (33i+34 21; 40 ii 3; 51–55 10). According to Jeremy Penner, this likely has to do with the continual need to “illuminate the night.” (54)

(50) John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 93.

(51) E.g., Pss 6:7, 16:7, 17:15, 27:8, 42:8, 59:15–17, 63:7, 77:7, 92:3, 119:62, 119:148, 130:6, 143:8; Dan 6:10; Jub. 12. 16–27; LAB 60.1–3; 1QS VI 7–8; 1QH^a XXV 30–33; 4QDaily Prayers 33i +34 21, 40+41 3, 51–55 10; 11QapocPs^a V.

(52) Deut 28:67, Isa 21:4, Ps 91:5, Prov 3:24, Song 3:8 all point to spiritual danger at night; see Jeremy Penner, “With the Coming Light, at the Appointed Time of Night: Daily Prayer and its Importance at Qumran,” *JAJ* 4.1 (2013): 27–47 (esp. 38–39).

(53) Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 188; Weston Fields, “The Motif ‘Night as Danger’ Associated with Three Biblical Destruction Narratives,” in *Sha’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. Michael Fishbane and Emmanuel Tov (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 17–32.

(54) Penner, *Patterns*, 192–93; see also Falk, “Prayer,” 290.

This latter idea of illuminating the night would help to make sense of the enigmatic call for God to “to humiliate darkness and strengthen light” in 1QM XIII 14–15. More explicitly however, the 1QM XIV 13–14 includes the promise,

Because of Your might deeds we shall exalt [] epochs and appointed times of eternity, at the be[ginn]ing of day and at night, and at dawn and dusk (מ[בו]א יומם ולילה ומוצאי ערב ובוקר).

This passage goes on to petition God to destroy the forces of Sheol and Abaddon, which are directly associated with Belial. Even more notably, the liturgies of 1QM XVIII–XIX are to occur at dusk (1QM XVIII 5). That these liturgies, which are likely the culmination of the previous liturgies, occurs at this time is significant. According to Daniel Falk, the association of Belial’s lot with darkness and God’s with light in 1QM XIII 4–6 would strengthen the connection between need for protection from evil in the night. Referring to the 1QM XIV 12–14, Falk states,

The climactic point of the hymn is the declaration of praise at the appointed times, morning and evening, reveals the eschatological victory of the forces of darkness to be directly parallel to the defeat of darkness in daily prayers. . . this and numerous other resonances with 4Q503 [in the War Scroll] reinforces that such prayers are equally at home in a daily as well as eschatological context. (55)

I, however, would go one step further than Falk, as such correspondence should force us to question our assumptions about eschatological fulfillment of the victory over evil. The language of appointed times for prayer in the evening and the appointed times of destruction for God’s enemies are likely parallel, as 1QM XIV 13 specifically places the time of the destruction spoken of in everlasting edicts with the coming of night.

3.4. *Dominion of Evil*

Thus, according to God’s edicts, there is a time when the dominion of evil will come to an end. As noted by Chazon, the explicit citation of the limited nature of evil’s dominion was a standard trope in apotropaic prayers. Thus, we should not be surprised to find this in the *War Scroll* as well. In the accepted sectarian apotropaic prayers, we find statements such as,

] until the completion of its dominion
ba]stards and the spirit of impurity (4Q444 i 7–8)

(55) Falk, “Prayer,” 290–91.

And I am pouring out the fear of God to the end of my generations to exalt the Name [to frighten] By His strength al[l] the spirits of the bastards, to subdue them by [His] fear [] [eternal fe]stivals [] the end of their dominion (4Q511 35 6–8)

Thus, we should not be surprised to find similar statements in the War Scroll. For example, 1QM XVIII 11 thanks God for removing evil's dominion and 1QM XIV 9 praises God for ending the "Empire of Belial. . . as the men of his dominion acted wickedly." Similarly, 1QM XI 11 notes the predetermined time of the defeat of the Kittim. In all of these texts, the defeat of evil has already occurred; they were never given a chance of winning, as God had given them the limited dominion that they enjoyed.

Conclusions and Implications

My purposes in this article were twofold. First, I argued that the liturgies of the War Scroll were neither interruptions from the martial elements nor ritual justification for them, but rather that these prayers and liturgies functioned as a key element of the fight against evil. These rites both marked boundaries and used key tropes found throughout the recognized Qumran rites of affliction in order to battle with evil, if not in a systematic manner, at least in a comprehensive and sustained way. Second, and as a corollary to the first purpose, I raised the question of whether the War Scroll was truly future-oriented, or whether the battle was indeed a daily one for the community, which they perceived as paramount for their survival.

The War Scroll does indeed contain several of the active tropes found in various rites of affliction that we would normally assume are being used for regular protection of the community from the forces of evil. Whether these elements were merely carried over from non-extant texts or added by the redactors themselves, these elements are diffuse through the liturgical sections of this work. The War Scroll not only evinces direct adjuration practices (e.g., curses in column XIII) and martial elements in its ritual choreography, it conceived of its ritual space in a way that corresponds with what we find in other rites of affliction from Qumran. Elements such as proclamation of divine victory and nightly prayer are very much at home in these boundary-marking rituals. This movement already believed that its liturgical life found its performative context in the apocalyptically-defined presence of angels and the divine, so liturgical warfare at their sides should be at least considered. Thus, it is no stretch to say that the War Scroll could have functioned as a liturgy of adjuration meant to expel unwanted evil and to purify the performing community socially, morally, spatially, and ritually.

Such performative goals make sense for a community that is not so much waiting for the eschaton as living with one foot in the real world of Roman Judaea and one foot in the apocalyptic reign of YHWH. Thus, battling with spiritual and political forces through prayer and liturgy was not merely a future goal and activity, but rather something to be enacted regularly and in a manner that is congruent with what is known of the movement's apotropaic practices.

As a consequence of this more practical, regular usage, we are forced to ask important questions regarding the nature of the eschatological hope found in this text, if indeed there is any. I have followed Collins in asserting that the Qumran Movement lived with one foot in the eschaton, and that the War Scroll itself displays much more immediacy than we would expect from such an apocalyptically-oriented rule text. Subsequent scholars and collaborations, most notably the SBL Wisdom and Apocalypticism group and the recent Nangeroni Meeting of the Enoch Seminar, have further problematized the notion of apocalypticism in the Second Temple Period. Many have begun to question openly whether 'apocalyptic' is a meaningful term or even heuristically useful. These are important questions. One specific, important question in this discussion is that of time. Sacha Stern has, in my opinion, correctly argued that abstract notions of time did not exist in the Judaism of Classical Antiquity, which would obviate the idea of ancient apocalyptic texts as theorizing absolute future endings to time as part of a larger temporal continuum. (56) Following Stern, Jonathan Ben-Dov has argued that at Qumran, daily time (*chronos*) and the time of redemption (*kairos*) were comingled. (57) According to Ben-Dov, when reading texts like Dan 11, "readers cannot miss the robust sense of the present occurring in the vision." (58) Thus, in a text such as the War Scroll, the copious death spoken of might be better treated as analogous to the death found in 4QBerakhot, as the enemies of God are said to already be consigned to Sheol, though they may seem alive at the moment. While greater research and discussion is needed, I believe that the above argument that the War Scroll is replete with efficacious apotropaic elements for contemporary usage should lead us at least to entertain the possibility that this is the case for the War Scroll as well.

Andrew R. KRAUSE

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

(56) Sacha Stern, *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* (Portland: Littman, 1999).

(57) Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Apocalyptic Temporality," *HeBAI* 5 (2016): 289–303.

(58) Ben-Dov, "Apocalyptic," 297; see also Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology, and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 307–8.

MOTHER OF JACOB AND MOTHER OF TOBIAH: FROM THE BOOK OF GENESIS TO THE BOOK OF TOBIT

Summary

The parallelism found between two particular passages in *Jubilees* and Tobit is of special interest. It concerns the great similarity between the description of Rebecca's sorrow on Jacob's departure to Padan Aram, and Isaac's attempt to console her (*Jub.* 27:13-18), and the sorrow of Hannah, the mother of Tobiah, upon his departure on his journey to Media, and Tobi's act of consoling her (*Tob* 5:18-23). The article analyzes in detail their underlying narrative structure and compares it with their possible source in 4Q364 3 ii, a fragment from the Qumranic *Reworked Pentateuch*. For this purpose 4Q364 3 ii is presented, translated and commented upon.

MORE than a century ago, James Rendel Harris published a seminal article on the Greek version of Tobit preserved by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus. (1) The article was penned in the years following the discovery of the codex by Constantin Tischendorf, (2) when a debate raged about its character. The version of Tobit in this codex attracted particular attention as it differs considerably from the traditional Greek version represented by Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Vaticanus and most of the Greek cursive manuscripts (designated G¹). The version of Sinaiticus, attested by the cursive Greek

(1) Cf. James Rendel Harris, "The Double Text of Tobit: Contribution toward a Critical Inquiry," *AmJT* 3 (1899): 541-54.

(2) On Codex Sinaiticus, see recently David C. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London: The British Library; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), and the recent collection of articles: Scot McKendrick et al., eds., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript* (London: The British Library, 2015).

MS 319 and the *Vetus Latina* (labeled G^{II}), (3) is significantly longer than the traditional one. In addition, a third version has been identified (designated G^{III}), preserved in the cursive Greek MSS 44, 106, and 107, chiefly for chs. 6:9–12:22. It constitutes a medial version that falls between the aforementioned long and short versions. (4) When the article on the version of Tobit recorded by Sinaiticus came out it was debated whether the text was based on a Semitic *Vorlage* and, if so, whether it was penned in Hebrew or Aramaic. Rendel Harris wrote his article in order to clarify this question. He surveyed a list of links to early Christian writings and other sources, and concluded that Aramaic was the source language from which the Sinaiticus version was rendered. (5) Several scholars later shared this conclusion, (6) but others thought that it had a Hebrew *Vorlage*. (7) The finding of four Aramaic copies of Tobit among the Qumran scrolls seems to provide support to the suggestion that the original of Tobit was composed in Aramaic. (8)

(3) For a general survey of the main witnesses of this version, see Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole, and Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions*, FSBP 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 22–26. For the *Vetus Latina*, see Jean-Marie Auwers, “La tradition vieille latine du livre de Tobie: Un état de la question,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology*, ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1–21. An analysis of Jerome’s Vulgate Latin translation of Tobit compared with the *Vetus Latina* version is offered by Vincent T. M. Skemp, *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses*, SBLDS 180 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000).

(4) On the three versions, see Robert Hanhart, *Tobit*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 31–36; Christian J. Wagner, *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), XII–XVI. For a more nuanced assessment of the third version see Stuart Weeks, “Some Neglected Texts of Tobit: The Third Greek Version”, in *Studies in the Book of Tobit*, ed. M. Bredin, *LSTS* 55 (London-New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 12–42. After a detailed examination Weeks concludes that the third recension “is a potentially important witness to the branch of the Long Greek, ... which often seems to preserve readings more original than those to be found in Sinaiticus” (*ibid.*, 24).

(5) See Rendel Harris, “Double Text of Tobit,” 554.

(6) Cf., e.g., Derek C. Simpson, “The Book of Tobit,” *APOT*, 1:182; *idem*, “The Chief Recensions of the Book of Tobit,” *JTS* 14 (1912–1913): 516–30. Cf. the recent evaluation of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–75 (671–72); *idem*, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 25–26.

(7) Paul Joüon, “Quelques hebraïsmes du Codex Sinaiticus de Tobie,” *Bib* 4 (1923): 168–74; Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), xi, 141. Being familiar with the Qumran evidence, Klaus Beyer nevertheless holds this opinion. See *idem*, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 2:173.

(8) Later a fragment of a fifth Aramaic copy was published by Michaela Haller-mayer and Torleif Elgvin, “Schøyen Ms. 5234: Ein neues Tobit-Fragment vom Toten Meer,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 451–61. Other pieces of apparently the same manuscript are found in private hands. Cf. Stuart Weeks, “Restoring the Greek Tobit,” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 1–15 (3, n. 6). However lately it has been claimed that these additional fragments are

However, the relationship between Hebrew and Aramaic in Tobit requires further study, given the presence at Qumran of a fifth Tobit copy in Hebrew, and the general impact of Hebrew on the book. (9)

Of the many links Harris discussed, the parallelism he found between two particular passages in *Jubilees* and Tobit is of special interest. It concerns the great similarity between the *Jubilees* description of Rebecca's sorrow on Jacob's departure to Padan Aram, and Isaac's attempt to console her (*Jub.* 27:13–18), and the sorrow of Hannah, the mother of Tobiah, upon his departure on his journey to Media, and Tobit's act of consoling her as described by Tobit (Tob 5:18–23). (10) Rendel Harris surveyed the affinity of their content, structure, and certain expressions. In his opinion, this similarity points to the literary interdependence of the two passages. He judged that *Jubilees* is based on Tobit since the *Jubilees* passage contains expressions typical of Tobit, such as the address of Isaac to Rebecca by the term "my sister." Since Harris knew that *Jubilees* was composed in Hebrew he assumed that such borrowing took place in Hebrew. (11) However, while he argued that Tobit was perhaps written in Aramaic, he did not explain how the Hebrew *Jubilees* drew from the Aramaic Tobit.

Later discussions devoted only brief remarks to the surprising parallelism noticed by Harris. (12) A somewhat longer examination

forges. See Kipp Davis et al., "Nine Dubious 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments from the Twenty-First Century," *DSD* 24 (2017), 32–33.

(9) For the judgment that the Hebrew version was rendered from the original Aramaic version, see Fitzmyer, "Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit," 669–70; Matthew Morgenstern, "Language and Literature in the Second Temple Period," *JJS* 48 (1997): 130–45 (139–40). However, for Christian Stadel, the debate on the original language of the book of Tobit "has essentially reached a stalemate, since most scholars agree that the evidence does not allow a definite decision." Cf. idem, "Stray Remarks on the Tobit Fragments," *DSD* 23 (2016): 206–20 (216). See the re-edition of Qumran Hebrew copy of Tobit (4Q200) by Devorah Dimant, "The Hebrew Copy of Tobit from Qumran: A Textual and Methodological Puzzle" (forthcoming).

(10) The present article follows the Qumran Aramaic version of naming the chief protagonist Tobit.

(11) See Rendel Harris, "Double Text of Tobit," 552–53.

(12) Cf. Simpson, "Book of Tobit," 216 n. 21; Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40A (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 189, 193–95; Beate Ego, *Buch Tobit*, JSHRZ II/6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 960. A short note on the similarity is included in Eliahu S. Hartom's Hebrew translation of *Jubilees* in *Sefarim Hizonim, Legendary Narratives* (Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1969), 84 (Hebrew), but he did not mention it in his comments on Tobit in the same series. Also other commentaries on Tobit have no reference to this interesting similarity, for instance: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003). Also recently published books on *Jubilees* were silent on this episode, for instance: Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (but see his separate article discussed below); James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Cana Werman, *The Book of Jubilees* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2015) (Hebrew).

of the phenomenon was offered by John Enders some thirty years ago, as part of his survey of the Bible in the book of *Jubilees*. (13) But he addressed only the contiguity of the structure and particular formulations of the two passages. Enders, who apparently was not aware of Rendel Harris's article, reached the same conclusion, namely, that *Jubilees* drew from Tobit, although he did not exclude the possibility that both depended on a third tradition. (14) However, he published his study before the appearance in print of the Qumran Tobit copies and the pertinent Qumran texts and therefore could not have weighted his conclusion in the light of their evidence. In his detailed and learned commentary on Tobit, Carey Moore devoted a few pages to the peculiar similarity of the above-mentioned two sections. He, too, thought that *Jubilees* drew from Tobit since Tobit is earlier, but he doubted that the two used a third source "since there is no evidence for it." (15)

However, the publication of fragments from the Qumranic *Reworked Pentateuch* provided possible evidence for this in the fragment 4Q364 3 ii. (16) Indeed, after it appeared in print, several scholars analyzed it in relation to its similarity to *Jubilees* 27. These examinations were conducted from various perspectives. In an article on Tobit's literary connections, George Nickelsburg compared Tobit 5 to *Jubilees* 27 and 31:3–9. Although he was familiar with the above-mentioned Qumran passage, he devoted only short comments to it in the context of the said parallelism. (17) His main interest lay in the broader theme of Tobit's farewell and return, and their analogy to *Jubilees* 31. (18) But this wider perspective blurs the particular correspondence between

(13) Cf. John C. Enders, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, CBQMS 18 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 95–97.

(14) *Ibid.*, 97 n. 33.

(15) Cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 194.

(16) See Sidnie A. White, "4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, ed. J. Trebelle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, STDJ 10/1 (Leiden Brill, 1992), 217–28. It appears that Moore was not aware of White's presentation although it came out before his own commentary appeared in print. The full version of the Qumran text was published by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie A. White, "364–367.4QReworked Pentateuch^{b-e}" and "365a.4QTemple?," in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, DJD XIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 206–07.

(17) Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Tobit, Genesis and the Odyssey: A Complex Web of Intertextuality," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. D. R. MacDonald, SAC (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 41–55. On the Qumran text, see *ibid.*, 50. Most of Nickelsburg's arguments were based on the claim that Tobiah's journey to Media is built on the model of Telemachus' journey to seek his father, described in the Odyssey, a claim advanced by D. R. MacDonald, "Tobit and the Odyssey," *ibid.*, 11–40. However, Nickelsburg himself admits that the claimed similarity does not account for all of the details in Tobit and some are better explained by the biblical journey of Jacob to seek a wife (*ibid.*, 46).

(18) See the list of parallel themes in the two cycles compiled by Nickelsburg, *ibid.*, 54–55.

Tobit 5, *Jubilees* 27, and the mentioned Qumran fragment. More attention was paid to the Qumran piece by two other scholars: Daniel Falk devoted several concise comments to the affinity between the two, (19) but a detailed analysis of the two sources was penned by Michael Segal. (20) However, Falk and Segal were interested in the biblical interpretation involved in the *Jubilees* episode and the rewritten Bible mode of *Jubilees* and the Qumran passage. Therefore, they only compared the two texts but did not take into account the affinity of both to Tobit 5, an affinity that should be considered in order to assess properly the relationship between the three texts. (21) The only author who has addressed all three passages is Hanna Tervanotko, whose article was published concurrently with that of Segal. (22) However, though her attention has been focused on the Qumran text, relying on the interpretation of the first editors, she did not exhaust all the topics suggested by the comparison of the three sources. None of the abovementioned scholars carried out a detailed analysis of the passages from Tobit and *Jubilees*, the relationship between them, of their connection to the passage from Qumran. The present article aims at performing this task.

First of all, the precise correlation between the narratives of Tobit 5 and *Jubilees* 27 must be clarified. For this purpose, the following table compares the translations of both the short (G^I) and long (G^{II}) Greek versions of Tobit, (23) and occasionally that of the *Vetus Latina*, (24) with the Latin and Ethiopic translations of *Jubilees*. (25) The passage

(19) Cf. Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, LSTS 63 (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 115–16.

(20) Cf. Michael Segal, “Biblical Interpretation – Yes and No,” in *What is Bible?*, ed. K. Finsterbusch and A. Lange (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 63–80, especially 71–80. Segal notes that the interpretation of the passage from 4Q364 was prepared together with Menahem Kister (*ibid.*, 73 n. 26).

(21) In her first publication on the similarity between the Qumran piece and *Jubilees* 27, also Sidnie White failed to mention their relationship to Tobit 5. See White, “4Q364 & 365,” 219. However, the omission was rectified in her subsequent publications.

(22) Cf. Hanna Tervanotko, “‘You Shall See’: Rebecca’s Farewell Address in 4Q364 3 ii 1–6,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. N. Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 413–26.

(23) Based on the edition of Hanhart, *Tobit*. The translations of Tobit consulted here are the following: Simpson, “Book of Tobit,” *APOT* 1:174–241; Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit*, JAL (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958); Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40A (New York: Doubleday, 1996); Beate Ego, “Buch Tobit,” *JSHRZ* II/6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 875–1007; Joseph A. Fitzmayer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003); Robert J. Littman, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, SEPT (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

(24) Based on the translations of Skemp, *Vulgate of Tobit*.

(25) The Qumran documents yielded remains of eighteen Hebrew copies of *Jubilees* but none contains the passage discussed here. The Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* and its translation are based here on those of James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees. A Critical Text*, CSCO 510; *The Book of Jubilees. A Translation*, CSCO 511

was partly preserved in one of the four Qumran Aramaic copies of Tobit, 4Q197 4 i, and its readings are commented upon in the notes.

Tobit 5:17–23 (26)		Jubilees 27:13–18 (27)
G ^I	G ^{II}	
(17d) And they both (28) started off to depart (29) and the boy's dog with them. (30)	And he set out to go on his way; And he kissed his father and mother. (31) And Tobi said to him, "Have a safe journey!"	(13) After Jacob had set out to go to Mesopotamia,

(Louvain: Peeters, 1989). Fragments of the Latin translation of *Jubilees* are published by VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees. A Critical Text*, 281. Also consulted were the translations of Robert H. Charles (revised by C. Rabin), "Jubilees," in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 86; Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, JSHRZ II/3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981), 460; André Caquot, "Jubilés," in *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 741. In addition, two Hebrew translations of *Jubilees* were consulted, the older one by Dov Heller in *Sefarim Hizonim* II/2 (Tel-Aviv: Masada, 1959), and the recent one by Cana Werman, *The Book of Jubilees* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2015) (Hebrew).

(26) The translation proposed here is based on those referred to in n. 23 above. Although the main emphasis is laid on the comparison between *Jubilees* and Tobit G^{II}, the text of G^I, basically a revised version similar to that of G^{II}, is added here in order to show the various editorial stages the episode went through. It should however be noted that occasionally G^I displays readings independent of G^{II} (e.g. Tob 1:8 and 14:2), so it should not be dismissed as devoid of any textual value.

(27) The translation is based mainly on VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees. Translation*. Other translations consulted are listed in n. 25 above.

(28) Tobiah and his companion Azariah, the disguised angel Raphael.

(29) G^I employs the two similar verbs ἐξέρχομαι, "to go out" and ἀπέρχομαι, "to depart" to express the two distinct activities, thus achieving an elegant Greek description. G^{II} selects another pair, ἐξέρχομαι, "to go out" and πορεύομαι, "to march, to go." The latter is a common verb in the Septuagint, usually translating the verb ללכת, "to go." Indeed, behind the Greek of G^{II} may stand the Hebrew locution ויצא ללכת לדרכו occurring in Judg 19:27. This Hebraism is in line with many others found in G^{II}, and therefore cannot be taken simply as a proof for a Hebrew original. But see n. 9 above.

(30) Here the dog is mentioned only in G^I but in other passages it appears also in G^{II}. See Tob 5:17 (G^I); 6:2 (G^{II}); 11:4 (G^I, G^{II}). The appearance of the dog in Tobit has puzzled students of the book since it does not play any role in the plot. Numerous explanations have been offered for its presence, among them the often-repeated claim that it points to a Zoroastrian influence, a religion known for its respect for dogs. For a survey of these various explanations, see Naomi S. S. Jacobs, "What about the Dog? Tobit's Mysterious Canine Revisited," in *Canonicity, Setting, Wisdom in the Deuterocanonicals*, ed. G. Xeravits, J. Zsengellér, and X. Szabó, DCLS 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 221–46.

(31) The Hebrew Bible records the custom of mutual kissing when meeting both relatives and friends (cf. Gen 27:27; 29:21; 48:10) or when departing from them (cf. Gen 31:28; 32:1; 2 Sam 19:40). This detail, like many others in the story, attests to the effort of the author to lend a biblical quality to his prose and characters. The entire episode discussed here is a fine illustration of this method.

Tobit 5:17–23	Jubilees 27:13–18
<p>(18) His mother Hannah wept and said to Tobī: “Why have you sent off our boy? Is he not the staff of our hands as he goes in and out before us? (19) Let not money be added to money, but let it be rubbish for our boy. (20) As it has been given us to live before the Lord that is enough for us.” (21) And Tobī said to her: “Do not worry, my sister!</p>	<p>Rebecca grieved for her son and kept crying.</p>
<p>And his mother wept and said to Tobī: “Why have you sent off my boy? Is he not the staff of our hands as he goes in and out before us? (32) Let not money be added to money (33) but let it be rubbish for our boy. (34) As it has been given us to live before the Lord, that is enough for us.” And he said to her: “Do not worry!</p>	<p>(14) Isaac said to Rebecca:</p>
<p>Our boy will go forth safely and will return to us safely, and your own eyes will see him on the day that he will return to you safely. Do not worry and do not fear for them, my sister. (35)</p>	<p>“My sister, do not cry for my son Jacob because he will go safely and return safely.</p>
<p>He will return safely, and your own eyes will see him.</p>	

(32) The Greek reproduces in both versions a typical biblical locution; cf. e.g., Deut 31:2; 1 Sam 18:16.

(33) In the Aramaic version of the Qumran 4Q197 4 i 1, the following parallel words have been preserved: **אל ידבק [בכסף] ברי**. They are rendered by Fitzmyer (DJD XIX, 45) as “Let my son not cling [to money].” Whether or not this is the correct meaning of this broken phrase, it shows, as in other variants found in the Qumran copies, that the textual tradition evinced by the Qumran documents, although close, is nevertheless not entirely identical to the Sinaiticus rendering. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 197 remarks that the Greek “hardly translates what is preserved in Aramaic 4Q197.”

(34) Tobiah’s mother seems to allude to the money her husband left with Gabael in Media, which her son is dispatched to bring back.

(35) For verse 21, the Aramaic of 4Q197 4 i 2–3 partly preserves the following: **ואמר לה אל תדחלי בשלם יהך ברי [בש]לם אל תדחלי ואל תצפי לה אחתי**. [“And] he said to her: ‘Do not fear! My son will go safely [safely]. Do not worry and do not fear for him, my sister’.” Note the repetition “worry ... fear,” which occurs also in the Aramaic, is echoed in both *Jubilees* and *Tobit*. The scene depicting Tobiah’s departure is reflected in that of his return (Tob 11:4–16), in which the restoration of Tobī’s sight with the help of Tobiah’s fish is related. Perhaps this is the reason why in the departure scene the

Tobit 5:17–23		<i>Jubilees</i> 27:13–18
(22) For a good angel will go with him.	For a good angel (36) will go with him.	(15) The most high God will guard him from every evil and will be with him (37) because he will not abandon him throughout his entire lifetime.
His journey will be successful and he will return safely.”	His journey will be successful and he will return safely.”	(16) For I well know that his ways will be directed favorably wherever he goes until he returns safely to us and we see that he is safe. (17) Do not fear for him, my sister, because he is just in his way. He is perfect (38); he is truthful. He will not be abandoned.”
(6:1) And she stopped crying.	And she grew silent from crying. (39)	(18) So Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob and he blessed him.

Before proceeding to the comparison of Tobit and *Jubilees*, a few words are in order on the two versions of Tobit and their relationship to the scene in *Jubilees*. On the one hand, the tendency of the short version (G^I) to omit repetitions and narrative elaborations that do not add to the plot is salient. Thus, the parting kiss Jacob bestows on his parents (5:17) is dropped, as is the statement “our boy will go forth safely” at the beginning of 5:21. In verse 21, the detail “on the day that he will return” is omitted. On the other hand, the short version’s tendency to add the names of the major characters, which are not mentioned in the long version (G^{II}),

promise of seeing Tobiah’s return is given only to Hannah, his mother (Tob 5:21–22). For the scene in which Tobi regains his sight is preserved for the later occasion of Tobiah’s return. Nevertheless, the promise of renewed vision also for Tobiah’s father is implied by the promise of safe return given at Tobiah’s departure.

(36) Tobit refers to an angel whereas God is evoked in the Jacob story. In Tobit, the angel alludes both to Raphael in his human disguise as Tobiah’s companion and to the journey undertaken by Abraham’s servant in order to choose a wife for Isaac (Gen 24:7, 39). The angelic companion is mentioned again in Tob 5:22.

(37) This phrase is a reworking of Isaac’s farewell blessing to Jacob on his son’s departure (Gen 28:3).

(38) The Ethiopic employs here the adjective *fəṣṣum*, meaning “full, complete, perfect.” See Wolf Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge’ez* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 247. Kugel sees here an allusion to the description of Jacob as אִישׁ תָּם in Gen 25:27. Cf. idem, *A Walk though Jubilees*, 138 n. 252.

(39) The Aramaic of 4Q197 4 i 4 has וְשֵׁתִּי אֶחָד עוֹד וְלֹא בִכְתִּי, “and becoming sile[nt], she wept no more.”

is notable. Thus, the names of Hannah and Tobi were added in verse 18 and verse 21 respectively. Specific to the short version is the statement that two embarked on the journey, Tobiah and Azariah/Raphael, accompanied by the dog (5:17), while in the long version only Tobiah went on his way. Perhaps the difference is explained by the kiss Jacob bestows on his parents, mentioned only by G^{II}, a detail that befits Jacob's lone departure. However, strikingly, some of the narrative expansions and repetitions characteristic of G^{II} are reflected also in the surviving lines of the Aramaic 4Q197 and thus apparently belong to the original story.

In spite of their differences, the two Greek versions transmit basically the same plot:

- a. Tobiah's departure on the journey to Media;
- b. His mother's weeping;
- c. Hannah's complaint to her husband Tobi regarding sending their son away, saying that he had supported his parents and that money is of no importance;
- d. Tobi's consolation, reassuring his wife that her son will go out and return safely, for a good angel accompanies him;
- e. Hannah stops crying.

The narrative sequel unfolds in the following stages:

- I. The departure of the son;
- II. The weeping of the mother;
- III. Her complaint;
- IV. The reassurance of the father, consisting of four elements: she should not worry, her son will return safely, a good angel accompanies him, and his journey will be successful.
- V. The mother stops crying.

A clear resemblance emerges from comparing this narrative plot to that of Jacob's departure scene in *Jubilees*. The following are the elements shared by the two accounts:

1. Jacob/Tobiah departs (Tob 5:17; *Jub.* 27:13). Notably, *Jubilees* is closer to Tobit G^{II} for the two speak of a single individual.
2. The mother weeps (Tob 5:18; *Jub.* 27:13).
3. The father reassures his wife (Tob 5:21; *Jub.* 27:14–16).
4. He promises that his journey will be successful and that he will return safely (Tob 5:22; *Jub.* 27:17).

Besides the great similarity in the structure and themes of the two episodes, there is also a remarkable affinity, even identity, between certain expressions and formulations in key points of the two tales:

1. In Tobit, the father addresses his wife as “my sister” (Tob 5:21 [G^I]; 5:22 [G^{II}]), while in *Jub.* 27:17 Isaac addresses Rebecca using the same term;
2. The expression “he will go forth safely and will return ... safely” is found in both Tob 5:21 (G^{II}) and *Jub.* 27:14 and similarly in the Aramaic copy of Tobit, 4Q197;
3. The repetitive address of the father to his wife “do not worry and do not fear” occurs in Tob 5:22 (G^{II}) and *Jub.* 27:17, as well as in 4Q197;
4. The son will be successful, as specified by Tob 5:22 and *Jub.* 27:16.

In passing, it should be noted that in two cases, in the second and third elements, it is the long version of Tobit that has preserved the precise parallel to the *Jubilees* story.

Besides the similarity of sequence, themes, and formulations, the comparison also brings forth the differences between Tobit and *Jubilees*. Tobit details Hannah’s complaints (5:18–20) whereas *Jubilees* inserts the characterization of Jacob as a forthright person under divine protection (27:17).

These differing elaborations stem from the particular agenda of each story. Hannah’s complaints are related to the purpose of Tobiah’s journey, to bring back money, a theme absent from *Jubilees*. The portrait of Jacob in *Jubilees* fits with the general biography of Jacob in this book, which would be out of place in Tobit. Tobit, instead, brings forth the good angel who is to accompany Tobiah on his way, a veiled allusion to Azariah/Raphael and the modelling of Tobiah’s journey on that of Abraham’s servant to find a wife for Isaac (Genesis 24).

However, the differences in some details cannot blur the main themes, sequence, and locutions shared by the two stories. As noted above, scholars have assessed this similarity in various ways. Many have concluded that *Jubilees* knew Tobit and used it. The possibility that the two stories drew from a third source was mentioned by John Enders and Carey Moore, but the latter rejected it arguing that there is no evidence for it. (40) However, the Qumran scrolls have yielded a witness for precisely the required source. It is a passage inserted in manuscript 4Q364, belonging to a group of texts that rework the Hebrew Bible. (41) The first editors labelled this group “Reworked Pentateuch” and considered it copies of a single work. (42) But it is now viewed as a group of texts that rework the Bible rather than a single entity that

(40) See nn. 14–15 above.

(41) This group includes 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, and 4Q367.

(42) Cf. Tov and White, “364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{b-c}.”

reworks the Pentateuch, (43) or even straightforward biblical texts. (44) This group is characterized by expansions using parallel or similar verses, a method known from the Samaritan Pentateuch. In addition, it incorporates several sections unknown from any other biblical manuscript. Among them, there is a section concerning Jacob's departure not found in any other biblical text of the Pentateuch. It runs as follows:

4Q364 3 ii (45)

[	אותו תראֶה]	1
(46) לפני	] תראה בשלום	2
[	מותכה ועל עיני־כה (47)	3
(48)	שניכם ויקרא [ישחק לרבקה אשתו ויספר]	4
(49)	לה את כול הדב[רים האלה ותנחם רבקה]	5
[	אחרי יעקוב בְּנֶה]	6
[	] וירא עישאו כי	7
[	פ[דן] אֶרֶם לקחת לו מִשֵּׁם אשה	8

Translation

1 him you shall see[]
2 you shall see in peace [	before]

(43) Cf. Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 39; Emanuel Tov, "From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch (?)," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays, Volume 3*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 45–59 (52–53).

(44) Cf. Michael Segal, "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book), 391–99; idem, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. M. Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28 (15–16); Tov, "From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch (?)," 54–55.

(45) The edition is that of Tov and White in DJD XIII, 206–07 reproduced without their restorations. The edition published by Elisha Qimron is almost identical but with different restorations. Cf. idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume Three* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2014), 99 (Hebrew).

(46) The restoration is called for by the analysis of the sequence (cf. below). It is also offered by Qimron.

(47) Qimron's restoration עיני־כה follows the preceding long form מותכה. The first editors restored עיני־ך.

(48) Adapted here according to the restoration offered by Qimron, which fits with the analysis proposed below.

(49) The restoration of the end of the line follows the formulation of Gen 24:67 וינחם יצחק אחרי אמו, "and Isaac was comforted after his mother's [death]." See also *Jub.* 27:18. Qimron's restoration אחרי יעקב בנה אותה [לה את כול הדב[רים האלה וינחם אותה] is based on the same verse. However, in my judgment the restoration proposed above fits better with the surviving words and the biblical locution.

3 your death, and [your] eyes[]
 4 the two of you. And [Isaac] called[Rebecca his wife and told]
 5 her all [these] wor[ds so Rebecca was comforted]
 6 after Jacob her son[]
 7 and Esau saw that[]
 8 Pa[dan] Aram to take [a wife] from [there]

The editors note that the addition must have occupied six lines since from line 7 the passage picks up Gen 28:6. Therefore, the addition was inserted following the statement that Isaac sent Jacob to Padan Aram (Gen 28:5) and continued until the note on Esau (Gen 28:9–10). This is also the placement of the expansion in *Jub.* 27:13–18 on the same subject. Only the beginnings of the lines of the insertion have survived in the Qumran fragment. Taking into account the length of the lines in other fragments of this manuscript, the addition consisted of a few sentences formulated in fifty to sixty words. (50)

The elements shared by the Qumran passage and the stories in Tobit and *Jubilees* are conspicuous: “him you shall see” in line 1 and “you shall be in peace” in line 2 reproduce the motif of seeing his safe return, evident in both stories. The eyes in line 3 may be connected to the long Tobit version (5:21) “and your eyes will see.” A first person, probably Isaac, is addressing a second, probably Rebecca, a clear parallel to Tob 5:21 and *Jub.* 27:14. The formulation of line 6 “after Jacob her son” is almost identical to the phrasing of the beginning of the addition in *Jubilees*, as well as the conclusion of it (*Jub.* 27:18).

Notwithstanding the affinity between motifs and expressions, it is difficult to match all the details of Tobit and *Jubilees* to the Qumran evidence and clearly the version in 4Q364 is slightly different from both of them. Moreover, only a portion of the manuscript lines are available so the precise context is a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless, enough has survived to permit the establishing of a logical sequence.

The first editors surmised that the second-person address in lines 3–4 (מותכה, שניכם) is uttered by Rebecca who is speaking to her son Jacob and alluding to Esau’s plot to kill Jacob (Gen 27:41–42), so they restored line 3 accordingly. (51) But the use of the singular

(50) The length of the lines has been calculated on the basis of frgs. 1 and 4, which were largely restored by the editors according to the parallel biblical sections.

(51) Cf. Tov and White, DJD XIII, 207. Sidnie White based her subsequent comments on the same understanding. See White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 47.

feminine third-person objective pronominal suffix “to her” (לה) in line 5 suggests and that Rebecca is in fact the addressee of words uttered by someone else. This interpretation is further supported by the following line in which Rebecca is obviously alluded to through the use of the singular feminine third-person possessive pronominal suffix attached to the word “son,” namely “her son” (בנה). In contrast, the editors’ interpretation does not supply a logical connection between lines 1–5 and line 6. (52) A detailed analysis of the addition in 4Q364 3 ii suggests a different understanding of the passage. (53)

As shown in detail by the analysis below, the Qumran text implies the following sequence: Isaac is told by an angel, or in a revelatory dream, that before his death he will see Jacob’s safe return; both his eyes and those of his wife Rebecca shall see him. He called Rebecca and told her these things and she was consoled after her son’s departure. (54) According to the sequence of events in Gen 36:29 and the explicit statement of *Jub.* 31:5–30, Isaac did indeed see his son Jacob’s return from Aram. *Jub.* 36:9 states that on that occasion his eyes were opened and he saw his son. It appears that also the Qumran text, with its stress on the addressee (Isaac?) seeing Jacob’s return, echoes such a theme in line with Gen 35:27, which records the visit Jacob paid his father upon his return. (55) Line by line commentary explains the above proposed sequence:

Lines 1–2: The singular forms תראה and בשלום תראה may be parsed as *Yiqtol* forms, either 2nd per. masc. sg., as interpreted by the editors, or as 3rd per. fem. sg. (56) In the latter case, they may refer to Rebecca. However, given 2nd per forms in the following lines 3–4, it is better to adopt the former possibility. Thus, the string of 2nd per forms lends cohesion to the entire passage. As for the 3rd per pronoun אותו, “him,” it probably refers to Jacob who is the subject of the exchange, as is implied by the remaining lines of the passage.

(52) Also Daniel Falk pointed out the difficulties involved in the editors’ reconstruction. See idem, *Parabiblical Texts*, 116. They are discussed in more detail in Segal, “Biblical Interpretation,” 75–77.

(53) The following analysis is close to the second option proposed by Segal, “Biblical Interpretation,” 76, but my analysis was carried out independently, before Segal’s article was brought to my attention.

(54) Qimron’s restoration reflects a similar understanding.

(55) Jacob’s reunion with his father is elaborated on greatly in *Jub.* 31:3–32. Cf. n. 35 above.

(56) The latter possibility is mentioned by Tervanotko, “Rebekah’s Farewell,” 415, but she does not explain how such an understanding may be integrated into the entire passage.

Line 3: Here stands the word מותכה, “your death,” with a 2nd per. masc. sg. possessive pronominal suffix, indicating a speech to a male rather than female addressee. The restoration עיני[כה], “[your] eyes” with a 2nd per. possessive pronominal suffix is therefore plausible for it continues the address of the preceding noun, “your death.” So the reading of lines 1–3 as words of a speaker to a single male hearer strings together these lines as a quote from a speech addressed to a single person.

Line 4: The opening word in this line, שניכם, “the two of you,” agrees with the preceding 2nd per. forms, albeit here it stands in the plural rather than in the singular as in the previous lines. The editors identified it as taken from Rebecca’s words to Jacob in Gen 27:45, where the same word occurs. They restored the line accordingly and apparently were led to assign the first three lines to the same speech of Rebecca. But, as noted above, the reconstruction does not accord with lines 5–6. Therefore, Rebecca cannot be the speaker of the first three lines as posited by the first editors; neither is their restoration of Rebecca’s speech from Gen 27:45 here correct. Isaac cannot be the speaker of these words as the term שניכם, “the two of you,” seems to refer to both Isaac and Rebecca. So this unknown orator could be an angel or messenger delivering a divine revelation. (57) Assuming such an identity provides an appropriate context for the various terms used in the quotation of the first three lines: the discourse is directed to Isaac, addressed using the words “you shall see.” The object of this “seeing,” referred to in the 3rd per. pronoun אותו, “him,” is undoubtedly Jacob. The use of the 2nd. per. sg. suffixes in “your death” and “your eyes” reverts again to the addressee, Isaac. The address to Isaac concludes with a mention of both Isaac and Rebecca, שניכם. The text switches to a narrative style with a 3rd per. masc. sg. *Wayyiqtol* (inverted future) form, ויקרא, “[he] called.” This change suggests that the quote is concluded and the hearer, namely Isaac, is going to do something about it, an action told using a 3rd per. sg. verb.

Line 5: Also in this line a 3rd per. preposition appears, but as a fem. sg. pronominal suffix, לה, “to her.” Here, a speaker says certain things “to her,” apparently alluding to Rebecca, for the following line concerns Jacob “her son.” Rebecca is therefore the one who is listening to the words spoken to her and not the one speaking. Who, then, is the speaker? It cannot be Rebecca or Jacob who are referred to using the 3rd per. forms; Isaac remains as the only possible speaker. (58) So the text relates how the patriarch called Rebecca (line 4), and related to her “these things,” namely, what he was told in the initial discourse.

(57) As proposed by Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Volume 3*, 99 (in his notes to the edition of the fragment) and Segal, “Biblical Interpretation,” 76.

(58) As restored appropriately by Qimron and adopted here. Cf. n. 46 above.

Line 6: This line describes Rebecca's response, probably following Isaac's account, as is restored above.

The reading of the Qumranic passage proposed here fits well with the surviving lines of the fragment. It also brings the story closer to the accounts of Tobit and *Jubilees*. Especially prominent is the similar stress placed on vision. The fragment repeats the promise to Isaac that he will see his son's safe return, probably from his journey, a promise that apparently is given to both him and Rebecca. The theme is emphasized by Tobit (5:21) as well as by *Jubilees* (27:16). The mention of Isaac's eyes in the fragment is even more striking since it tallies particularly with Tobi's promise to his wife that they will see "with their own eyes" their son's return. On the face of it, Tobi's words may be understood as a simple expression of hope for Tobiah's safe return. In fact, this is a veiled allusion to Tobi's blindness and his future healing by the returning Tobiah, a scene developed later in Tob 11:14. The mention of Isaac seeing Jacob's return in the *Jubilees*' episode may also suggest an allusion to Isaac's blindness that will be healed upon Jacob's return (as noted by *Jub.* 31:9–10). (59) The particular emphasis on the vision motif in 4Q364 provides additional support for such an understanding. Also, the consolation of Rebecca seems to constitute a motif shared by all three sources.

There lies, however, one major difference between 4Q364 and its parallels in Tobit and *Jubilees*. For the Qumran text seems to attribute the promise of the son's safe return to some type of divine (?) revelation, whereas in Tobit and *Jubilees* it is the father, Tobi or Isaac, who pronounces it. Yet even this detail finds its parallels through the divine intervention introduced by both Tobit and *Jubilees*: the good angel accompanying Tobiah in Tobit, and the divine providence protecting Jacob in *Jubilees*. In fact, the 4Q364 revelation, as well as that of *Jubilees*, anticipates the divine promise to protect Jacob that was revealed to him in the night vision at Beit-El (Gen 28:15).

The similarity of content, structure, and expressions shared by the three accounts discussed above attest to a common literary connection. Some previous studies proposed that *Jubilees* drew on Tobit. (60) However, this proposal is wrought with difficulties. First of all, Tobit was composed in Aramaic while *Jubilees* was written originally in Hebrew. The similarity of certain locutions in the two works is difficult to explain in such a situation; a common Hebrew source is suggested

(59) Thus Nickelsburg, "Tobit, Genesis, and the Odyssey," 50–51; Tervanotko, "Rebecca's Farewell," 420–23.

(60) Thus Rendel Harris, "Double Text of Tobit," 553–52; Enders, *Biblical Interpretation*, 97; Moore, *Tobit*, 194; Nickelsburg, "Tobit, Genesis, and the Odyssey," 51.

rather than the dependence of *Jubilees* on Tobit. Secondly, Tobit concerns a nonbiblical plot and characters, and using it to describe biblical figures would be out of character in the systematic reworking of the biblical narratives typical of *Jubilees*.

4Q364, copied between 50 and 25 BCE, (61) suggests that at the time an addition concerning Rebecca was incorporated into a text of Genesis, or one very close to this biblical book. It appears that the scribe who copied this manuscript viewed this passage as an integral part of this biblical book. It may be assumed that a similar biblical version inspired *Jubilees*, composed during the second century BCE, especially given that both sources were written in Hebrew. Indeed, Michael Segal concludes that *Jubilees* was based on a biblical version resembling that of 4Q364 and adapted it further. (62) In light of this evidence, Segal reconstructs a process of four stages to explain how the final biblical version of Jacob's departure was achieved. (63)

However, Segal has not taken into account the evidence provided by Tobit. The composition of Tobit is usually attributed to the third century BCE or even somewhat earlier, therefore rendering it earlier than both *Jubilees* and the Qumran 4Q364. Thus, Tobit is not based on *Jubilees*. The conclusion that neither *Jubilees* nor Tobit depends on the other is unavoidable; both drew on a third tradition associated with the book of Genesis. 4Q364 provides first-century BCE evidence for a text of Genesis that incorporated the developed account of Jacob's departure. Therefore, it may be assumed that Tobit and *Jubilees* used this Hebrew biblical tradition independently; it probably was already in a written form, as is suggested by their similar sequence and phraseology. This usage agrees with the peculiar character of them both. *Jubilees* follows the narrative outline of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus, while adapting long chunks of their stories. As for Tobit, although its characters and the scenario are nonbiblical, the book is built on biblical models and style, especially those of the patriarchs' lives as portrayed in Genesis. Therefore, creating an adaptation of Jacob's life events is wholly in line with the method and character of the book.

The foregoing analysis contributes a new factor to the debate on the nature of texts such as that of 4Q364. Their exegetical character is obvious (64) and, in the case of 4Q364, its textual character is close

(61) Cf. DJD XIII, 201.

(62) Cf. Segal, "Biblical Interpretation," 79. See also *ibid.*, 77 n. 33.

(63) Segal, "Biblical Interpretation," 79–80. Tervanotko estimates that the variety of traditions regarding Jacob's departure shows that in the third century BCE the story had not arrived at its final version. Cf. *eadem*, "Rebecca's Farewell," 425.

(64) The general character of the group in which 4Q364 is included was defined by Emanuel Tov as a biblical text "interlaced with exegetical elements." Cf. *idem*, "The

to that of the expansive Samaritan Pentateuch. (65) However, while the Samaritan Pentateuch confines its additions and alterations to related biblical materials, 4Q364 and other texts of the 4QReworked Pentateuch group “add details reflecting exegetical activity not instigated by the context ... based on different earlier sources.” (66) If so, the distinction between proper biblical texts and those that have been reworked disappears, at least in the case of 4Q364. For it appears that biblical texts were in circulation, including materials that later dropped out, during the centuries before the beginning of the Common Era. Nevertheless, the type of text adopted by 4Q364 was considered biblical by third- and second-century literary works. Therefore, at least some ancient readers accepted such texts/traditions as authoritative Scripture. The foregoing analysis suggests that we may retrieve remnants of these early biblical traditions or texts via their secondary reworking by ancient nonbiblical apocryphal compositions.

Devorah DIMANT
University of Haifa

Textual Status of 4Q364–367 (4QPP),” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11/1 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 43–82 (49).

(65) Cf. Tov, “Textual Status,” 57–59; idem, “From Reworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch (?),” 55.

(66) Tov, *ibid.*

WERE THERE TWO COPIES OF GENESIS IN QUMRAN CAVE 2?

THE Genesis manuscript from Cave 2, labeled 2QGen (2Q1), consists of two fragments. The objective of this note is to establish the possibility that these two fragments belonged to two different Genesis manuscripts.

In 1962, M. Baillet published two scroll fragments of Genesis from Cave 2, representing them to belong to a single copy of Genesis; (1) he labeled them frg. 1 and frg. 2. (2) As far as I know, no one has questioned the authority of Baillet's identification of these two fragments belonging to the same manuscript; the evidence, however, points in a different direction. A careful examination of the paleography of the two fragments reveals that a different copyist inscribed each fragment.

As presently constituted, the two fragments of 2QGen contain words and letters from Gen 19:27–28; 36:6; and 36:35–37. (3) Frg. 1, shaped like an arrowhead, has nine decipherable and four questionable characters. The fragment gives prominence to two slight folds (one that runs in a horizontal direction and the other is slanted) and a left margin. Evidence of stitching indicates that the fragment belonged to the far-left portion of a leather sheet.

Frg. 2 is long and narrow and contains the remains of words and letters from two columns. The right column has a darkened patch; the left column is unclouded. Frg. 2 i contains eleven whole or partial letters; frg. 2 ii has ten whole or partial letters. Based on reconstructions of the

(1) See Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân, Texts*, DJDJ III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 48–49.

(2) Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân, Planches*, DJDJ III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), pl. X.

(3) For images of the two fragments, see the following photographs: PAM 40.555–40.556 (April 1953); 42.957 (April 1959); IAA B-496317 (April 2015); B-482966–B-482967 (December 2013); B-482970–B-482971 (December 2013).

text of both columns of frg. 2, the width of a column is estimated to be 8–9 cm and there are approximately forty-four lines per column.

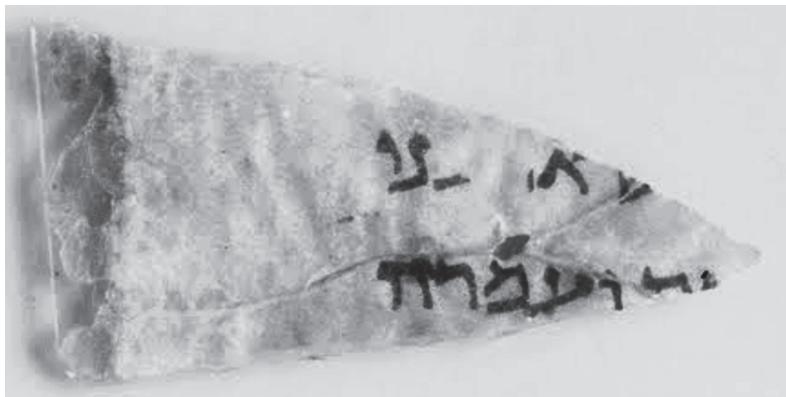


Image of Frg. 1 (Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photo: Shai Halevi)



Image of Frg. 2 (Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photo: Shai Halevi)

The following evidence indicates that frgs. 1 and 2 belong to two different hands (see photos):

(1) Thickness of the strokes—frg. 1 versus frg. 2. Although the thickness of the strokes does not constitute a conclusive argument that distinguishes two different hands, almost every stroke of every letter on frg. 2 is thicker than the letters belonging to frg. 1. Compare, for example, the *mêm* of frg. 1 with either of the two *mêms* of frg. 2—the diagonal, vertical, and horizontal strokes are all thicker on frg. 2. The same is the case with all of the letters on this fragment. The thick strokes may indicate a stylus with a thicker nib or the angle of the stylus's “flat end” on the guideline. (4)

(4) Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script* (London: The British Library, 2002), 160, explains, “The thickness of the strokes is the result of two main factors:

(2) A comparison of the letters *ʾālep*, *hê*, *mêm*, and *nûn*, extant on both fragments, also serve to illustrate a different hand (refer to the photographs for clarification):

ʾālep: the diagonal stroke of the *ʾālep* (frg. 2) is thicker/wider than that of frg. 1. The upper right ‘arm’ of the *ʾālep* of frg. 1 is written at a 45-degree angle, versus that of frg. 2, which is nearly vertical; also, the upper right ‘arm’ (frg. 2) has a serif (or ornamental projection). And the meeting-point of the upper right ‘arm’ of the *ʾālep* is different for frgs. 1 and 2: the meeting point of frg. 2 is positioned midway, versus that of frg. 1, which is situated higher up.

hê: the *hê* of frg. 2 (twice attested) has distinct elements. The left vertical ‘arm’ is thicker in the middle and the upper and lower segments of this stroke narrows off. This may indicate the angle at which the scribe held the tip of his stylus while writing. Contrast this with the left ‘arm’ of the *hê* of frg. 1, which is equally thick from top to bottom. The right ‘arm’ of the *hê* of frg. 2 is written differently than the left. The “roof” (horizontal crossbars) of the *hês* of the two fragments are also different. Notice the two, distinctive, tiny ‘stings’ (or projections) on the right and left sides, above the roof—again a distinct element of frg. 2. These ‘stings’ do not exist on the *hê* of frg. 1.

mêm: the bottom right angle of the *mêm* of frg. 2 is slightly curved, versus the *mêm* of frg. 1, which is more angular. On frg. 2, the ‘horn’ of the *mêm* has a serif in contrast to the ‘horn’ of the *mêm* of frg. 1, which lacks it.

nûn: again, the thickness of the *nûn* (both horizontal and vertical strokes) of frg. 2 is thicker than that of frg. 1. Also, the base of the *nûn* of frg. 1 is noticeably longer versus the base of the *nûn* of frg. 2.

Consequently, according to paleographical scrutiny, the two fragments of 2QGen belong to two different hands. This conclusion sets up two chief possibilities: (1) there were actually two copies of Genesis in Cave 2, and not one, as has previously been supposed. This conclusion draws support from E. Tov’s statement, “The usual procedure was probably that each scroll, long or short, was written by a single scribe, with the involvement of more than one scribe being the exception rather than the rule.” (5) (2) There is a possibility that this particular copy of Genesis was copied by two different scribes.

1) the way the writing implement is cut. A flat instrument cut at a right angle creates large differences in thickness between strokes drawn in different directions. 2) The angle that exists between the flat end of the instrument and the guideline.”

(5) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 20–21.

In conclusion, there is a high probability that there existed two copies of Genesis in Cave 2; but it is also possible that 2QGen is yet another example of a text that was copied by two different copyists.

Donald W. PARRY
Brigham Young University

NEW READINGS IN 4Q256 (4QS^b) ⁽¹⁾

THE most recent photographs of 4Q256, taken in 2012, offer new evidence for the transcription and reconstruction of some parts of the scroll. In what follows, I propose four new readings, and touch briefly on their implications. For each new reading, I have supplied the DJD transcription for reference, and have incorporated corrections made by Elisha Qimron where appropriate. (2) The new readings differ from those found in the DJD and Qimron editions.

4Q256 4 11-13

This large fragment contains top, bottom, and right margins. It is labeled frg. 4 in DJD 26 and frg. 5 in the edition by Sarianna Metso. (3) There are a few readings in the beginnings of lines 11 through 13 that are visible in the most recent online photographs, and have not been incorporated into previous editions. (4) The readings given below demonstrate, with some exceptions, the accuracy of the reconstruction in DJD 26. The DJD transcription and reconstruction of these lines is as follows:

איש מא[נשי הָקֹדֶשׁ] מהוֹנֶם וְלֹא יִקַּח מִיָּדָם מֵאוֹמָה וְלֹא יִשְׁעֲנוּ עַל כּוֹל
מַעֲשֵׂי הַהֶבֶל כִּי הֵבֵל כֹּן[ל] אֲשֶׁר לֹא אֶ[דָּעוּ] אֶת בְּרִיתוֹ וְכוֹל מִנְאֲצֵי דְבָרוֹ לְהַשְׁמִיד
מִתְּבֵל וְכוֹל מִעַשְׂ[יָה]ם וְ[ל]נֹדָה לִפְ[נֵי]ו [וְטִמָּא בְּכוֹל הוֹנֶם]

(1) Many thanks are owed to John Screnock and the anonymous reviewer at *Revue de Qumrân*, each of whom offered valuable insights.

(2) Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010) [Hebrew].

(3) See Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX: 4Q^{Serekh} Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 53; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 27-28.

(4) See also Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:219.

There are a few readings in the beginnings of these lines that may be improved on the basis of the 2012 infrared photograph (B-366921). (5) First is a word at the beginning of l. 11, which must be the first word of the line given its alignment with l. 10. The photograph appears to show a *šin* fairly clearly, preceded by a small diagonal stroke that may be part of the head of a preceding *yodh* (see fig. 1 below). The flake on the right side of fig. 1 contains a small dot of ink that may be the remains of the right leg of an *‘aleph*, but this remains speculative.

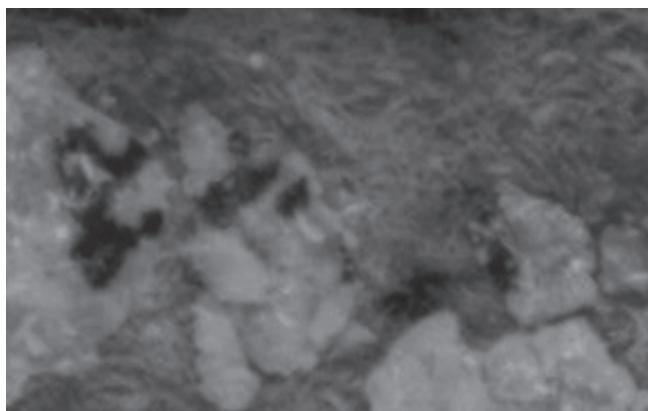


Figure 1: 4Q256 4 11 (B-366921)

Second is the beginning of l. 12. The same photograph shows the first three words of the line.

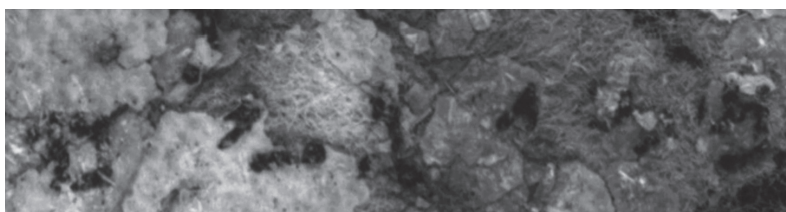


Figure 2: 4Q256 4 12 (B-366921)

(5) All images are published here courtesy of the The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library and the IAA. Photographs by Shai Halevi. They may be viewed at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il>.



Figure 3: 4Q256 4 12 (B-366920)

The *mem* at the very beginning of the line is clear and it is aligned vertically with the right margin of the column. It is followed by a thin vertical stroke and a diagonal stroke underneath to the left. This can be reasonably understood as an *'ayin*. There is a single stroke on the right side of the following letter as well. It is difficult to identify the letter from this stroke alone, but it is tempting to understand it as the right arm of a *šin* in light of the context and parallel with the end of 1QS V 18 (מעשי). The fourth letter closely resembles the head of either *yodh* or *waw*. This letter is followed by a blank space that seems to be original to the writing given that the top layer is here in tact (see fig. 3). Following the space, one can see a short vertical stroke and the beginning of a horizontal stroke at its top. That this is likely the roof of a *he* is suggested by the small dot of ink on the base of the line just to the left of the vertical stroke. This should be read as the bottom of the left leg of the *he*. Thereafter is a clear horizontal stroke representing the base of a letter. This could reasonably be a *bet*, *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *šade*. Given the context and correspondence with 1QS V 19 and 4QS^d I 10-11, I suggest a *bet*. (6) The DJD edition reconstructs מעשי ההבל here, which is found at 4QS^d I 10, but the new photos make clear the fact that there is only one *he*, and that it is preceded by a space. Thus, 4QS^b here agrees with the 1QS reading, which lacks the definite article. Following this *bet*, there appears to be a clear base of a *lamed*. Its top extends upward, but it is partially obstructed by a thin flake of skin with ink on it. This flake should be rotated 45 degrees clockwise and the dot of ink understood as part of the head of the *lamed*. There is a space after the *lamed*, again on skin that is in tact, suggesting that the *lamed* is the final letter of the word. Finally, there are traces of two letters on the left side of figs. 2 and 3 above. The first is recognizable as a *kaph*, with a characteristically narrow roof along its top to distinguish it from *bet*. The final letter is difficult, but seems to be a *yodh* with a clear vertical stroke and the beginnings of a triangular head along the crack in the leather.

(6) See DJD 26, 94.

Third, there are visible traces of a word near the beginning of l. 13, but not at the right margin.

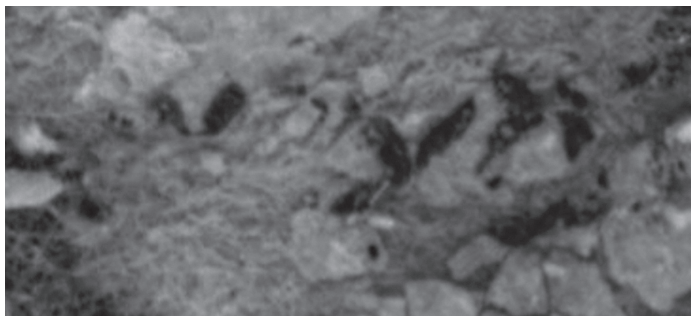


Figure 4: 4Q256 4 13 (B-366921)



Figure 5: 4Q256 4 13 (B-366920)

Again, the first letter here is almost certainly *mem*. A vertical stroke, horizontal base, diagonal stroke, and even the tick at the top are visible. Following this, there is a fairly clear *'ayin* with the base and both arms visible. The top layer of skin is damaged to the left of the *'ayin*, but the top of the next letter is visible. The dot of ink on the left and the angle of the stroke on the right suggest to me the left downstroke and middle arm of a *šin*. This is strengthened by the faint dot of ink on the flake just to the left of *'ayin*, which may be the remains of the right arm of *šin*. This, however, must remain somewhat speculative.

This line is also noteworthy in combination with the preceding one because of the position of the word here. As seen in fig. 6 below, this word lies directly below the second word of l. 12, and is thus likely the second word of l. 13.

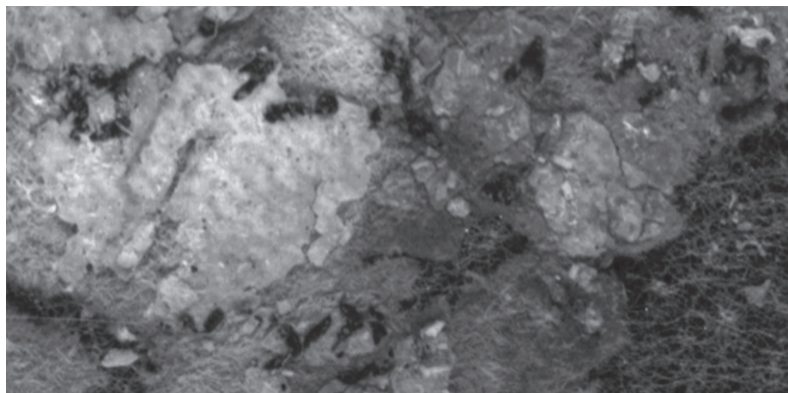


Figure 6: 4Q256 4 12-13 (B-366921)

As noted above, Alexander and Vermes reconstruct this line as מתבל [א]ש [מאנ] שי הקודש [מהונם ולוא יקח מידם מאומה ולוא ישענו על כול מעשי הבל כן הבל כן] אשר לוא [ידעו את בריתו וכול מנאצי דברו להשמד מתבל ו] מעש [יהם ל] גדה לפ [נ] יו [וטמא בכול הונם] (7) It is difficult to know which strokes they read here as *šin* and final *mem*, but the new photographs suggest that only one word precedes מעשיהם in l. 13, as suggested by Metso. (8) This aligns with the reading of 4QS^d 1b 2: להשמד מתבל ומעשיהם. (9)

The preceding conclusions result in the following transcription and reconstruction of lines 11-13: (10)

א[ש] [מאנ] שי הקודש [מהונם ולוא יקח מידם מאומה ולוא ישענו על כול
מעשי הבל כן הבל כן] אשר לוא [ידעו את בריתו וכול מנאצי דברו להשמד
מתבל ו] מעש [יהם ל] גדה לפ [נ] יו [וטמא בכול הונם]

4Q256 5b 2

There is a single reading on frg. 5b that may be corrected. The fragment contains three lines and a bottom margin, and Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes place this fragment in their col. XI corresponding with 1QS VI 15-18. The second line of the fragment, which they label as l. 12 of the column based on their reconstruction, corresponds to 1QS VI 16-17. The DJD transcription and reconstruction of these three lines reads: (11)

(7) DJD 26, 54.

(8) Metso, *Textual Development*, 28.

(9) See *ibid.*, 41; DJD 26, 93; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scroll*, 1:219.

(10) I have also adjusted here some of the diacritics to reflect my own judgment on the extant traces.

(11) DJD 26, 55.

ונשאלו] הכולן על דבריו
 לוא יגע ב[טְהֶרֶת הרבים עֲדָן] א[שֶׁ]ר ידרושהו
 ובמולאת [ו]שנה תמימה ישא[ל] הרבים על דבריו

The final trace of the second line (l. 12 in the DJD reconstruction), read here and elsewhere as a *šin*, requires correction. (12) Fig. 7 below shows clearly the horizontal base of the letter.

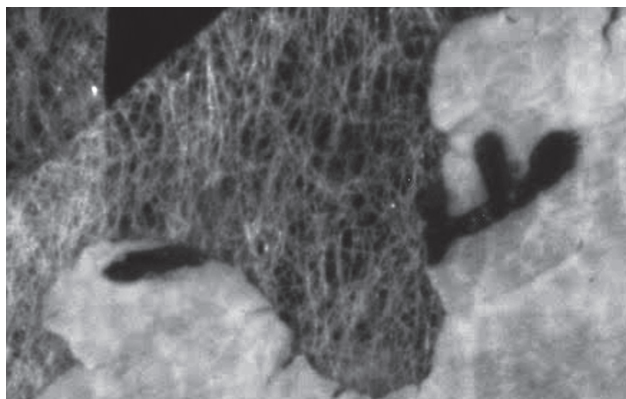


Figure 7: 4Q256 5b 2 (B-366899)

The angle of the stroke, coupled with the fact that there is blank space above its left side without a vertical stroke adjoining it makes it very difficult to read this as a *šin*. (13) Instead, it appears to be the base of either *bet*, *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *šade*. It is impossible to adjudicate between these options on the basis of the traces alone, but the parallel in 1QS may be of some help here. First it should be noted that the reconstruction of this column in 4QS^b is problematic due to the fact that it had a shorter text than 1QS in this part of the composition. Alexander and Vermes note the difficulty and thus do not reconstruct the width of the column. (14) If we read this trace as a *mem*, supply instead the second half of 1QS VI 17, and suggest that 4QS^b did not contain the phrase *עד אשר ידרושהו לרוחו ומעשו*, these

(12) See also Metso, *Textual Development*, 29; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:221.

(13) Moreover, the proposed reconstruction *עדן] א[שֶׁ]ר* here is unlikely, due to the small amount of space in the lacuna. It is difficult to fit the left side of a *dalet*, a space, and an *‘aleph* here.

(14) DJD 26, 56.

issues are partially resolved. This would yield the following transcription of l. 12:

לוא ינע ב[טְהַרַת הרבים עֲדָ]מָ[ולאת לו שנה תמימה

This makes much better sense of both the ink-trace at the end of frg. 5b 2 and the size of the lacuna before it, which is wide enough only for the crossbar of the *dalet* and a space. It does not, however, entirely resolve the problem of reconstruction in that the following line of the fragment contains the phrase that I have placed at the end of l. 2. I would tentatively suggest a repetition of the phrase—similar to what is found at the beginning of 1QS VI 18 without the *יחד* terminology—which would retain the protasis of the temporal clause that is completed by *לוא ינע ב* at the end of the next line. Thus, I would reconstruct the fragment as follows: (15)

ונשאלו[ן] הכול[ל] על דבריו
לוא ינע ב[טְהַרַת הרבים עֲדָ]מָ[ולאת לו שנה תמימה
ובמולאת [ל]ו[ן] שנה תמימה ישא[ל] הרבים על דבריו

4Q256 6a i 3

There is a minor correction to be made at 6a i 3. The right edge of the line contains a small flake of inscribed skin that has broken off and is dangling from the larger piece of the fragment. It is visible in this position on the most recent photographs as well as on both PAM 41.502 and 42.373. The writing on this flake is transcribed as part of a *bet* and a *reš* in DJD 26 and Qimron's edition, and as a *waw* by Metso. (16) The DJD transcription of the line is:

הנגלה להם היאה עת פנות הדרך למד[בָּר] להשכילם בכול הנמצא לְעִשׂוֹת

A close look at the most recent infrared photograph makes clear that the traces on this dangling flake are simply the bottom halves of the following *lamed* and *he* (see fig. 8 below), and that the flake should be rotated 90 degrees clockwise.

(15) Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:221 suggests a *vacat* after *דבריו* in l. 1 and reconstructs the width of the column on this basis.

(16) DJD 26, 57; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:227; Metso, *Textual Development*, 29.

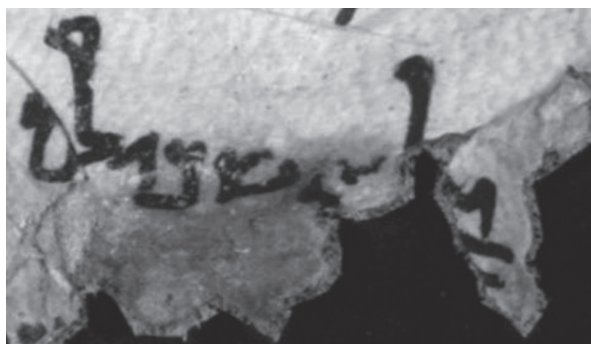


Figure 8: 4Q256 6a i 3 (B-371115)

The *lamed* is also clearly preceded by a space here, a reading that aligns with the text of 4QS^d over that of 1QS. (17)

4Q256 6a i 6

Finally, line 6 of the same fragment and column may be clarified and improved upon on the basis of the new photographs. Alexander and Vermes read למ[ושל בן] in this line and are followed in part by Qimron, while Metso transcribes וע[מל כפ]ים. (18) The high resolution of the most recent photographs suggest that Metso's reading is mostly correct (see fig. 9 below).

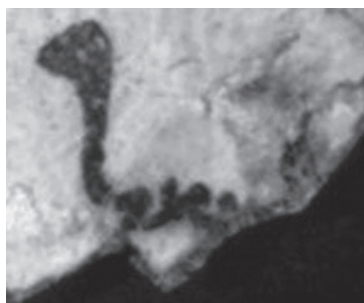


Figure 9: 4Q256 6a i 6 (B-371115)

(17) See Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:226-27. Many thanks are owed to the anonymous reviewer of this article, who here pointed out to me that J. T. Milik may have noticed this feature as well in his transcription of the line as למדבר[להשכילם in the Preliminary Concordance. Cf. B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, eds., *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991-1996), 3:46.

(18) See n. 15.

There are two strokes visible of a letter to the immediate right of the *lamed*. The fact that the diagonal stroke protrudes so far past its intersection with the small vertical stroke makes it very difficult to identify this as a *šin*. This should instead be read with Metso as the left oblique of *mem* with the tick. The bottom of the *mem* is not visible due to the fact that the top layer of skin has peeled off at the very bottom of the fragment (see fig. 10 below). Additionally, there is a small dot of ink to right of the proposed *mem* that is consistent with the left arm of an *‘ayin*, but this must remain speculative. (19)



Figure 10: 4Q256 6a i 6 (B-371114)

Metso's reading of כפ]ים following this word is impossible to address on the basis of the new photographs. PAM 41.502, 42.373, and 43.240 show clearly two letters that can be reasonably read as *kaph* and *pe* with Metso, but the most recent photographs do not show this small flake of skin. The slight downward angle of these two letters in the PAM photographs raises the question of whether the join is correct, and perhaps the absence of the flake in the new photographs suggests that it is not. Here, though, I simply propose that the first word of the line be read עמל against the suggestions of Qimron and DJD 26.

James NATI
Yale University

(19) Alexander and Vermes seem to read this as the head of a *waw*. This is difficult, however, as there is no triangular head, which we would expect of a *waw*, and because it leaves no room for the right arm of their proposed *šin*. It is possible that they instead read this as the right arm of a *šin*, but in that case there is no other ink to account for their *waw*.

MOSES'S SONG IN 11QMELCHIZEDEK?

IN a recent study, Chanan Ariel refers to several new readings in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) proposed by Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky and Esther Haber. (1) As we await a full publication of their work, this short note draws attention to another passage where the latest infra-red image sheds new light on the wording of 11Q13. (2)

The case in point is the addition found in the right margin of the much studied second column of the scroll (fig. 1).

This addition is all that remains of the preceding column. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar aptly describe the words in the margin as “a supralinear and, further on, a vertical addition.” (3) It appears to the right of line 12 in column II and runs down as far as line 15. Then the margin breaks off. (4) However, as it reappears to the right of lines 18-20, so do the vertical traces of letters. Since the margin is damaged, it is unclear whether we are dealing with a single long addition or, more likely, two shorter ones.

The traces of the letters in the margin have been variously read and restored. Adam S. van der Woude, the first editor of 11Q13, transcribed

* I am grateful to the anonymous readers of this article for their helpful comments, to Mrs. Faina Feldman for her help with the images used in this study, and to Mr. Zachary Poppen for improving its language and style.

(1) Chanan Ariel, “Semantic and Exegetical Observations on Metaphors for Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Meghillot* 13 (2017): 3-25 (17-18; Hebrew). See also my “New Light on the Ten Jubilees of 11QMelchizedek (11Q13),” *DSD* (forthcoming).

(2) This is the image B-483340 available at The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-483340>.

(3) Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 224.

(4) It is unclear whether the apparently unscripted scrap of leather placed to the right of lines 15-17 indeed belongs there and, if it does, whether it represents the entire intercolumnar margin or only a segment thereof.



Fig. 1. B-483340 (Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, IAA. Photographer: Shai Halevi)

only its fully preserved words: במושה כיא. (5) Józef T. Milik read and restored the traces with the contents of column II in mind: (6)

אשר אמר ע[ל]י מושה כיא [יובל הוא] ה[ו] קוֹדֶשׁ [תהיה לכמה]

Émile Puech discards much of Milik's bold reading and reconstruction and suggests: (7)

המורה הראי[ש]ון מושה כיא ד[בר]. [].. []ש[]

(5) Adam S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354-73 (358).

(6) Józef T. Milik, "Milkî-šedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95-112 (101). His reading is adopted in the influential study by Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, CBQMS 10 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 5.

(7) Émile Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit de XIQMelkîsédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483-513 (488); idem, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:522. Puech's transliteration has been retroverted into Hebrew taking question marks in parentheses as indicating doubtful readings.

Tigchelaar and García Martínez accept Puech's reading of the first three letters, yet take a more cautious approach toward the reading and reconstructing of the traces after כִּיא: (8)

[ש [] °° [] ° כִּיא מושה שִׁן]

After a careful comparison of the old and new infrared images of 11Q13, especially B-483340, I would like to suggest the following reading of the traces found in the margin:

[ש [] °° [] °° כִּיא מושה (שִׁר)]

The main deviation from the DJD edition is the reading of the first word, in fact, its last letter (fig. 2).

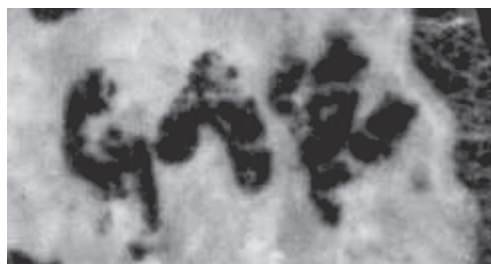


Fig. 2. B-483340

While the second letter may be read both as a *vav* and a *yod*, the new image B-483340 indicates that the third letter is a *resh*, and not a final *nun*. On this image one can see a short vertical stroke of a *resh* curving to the left at its bottom, as well as its horizontal stroke with a tip on the left end. Next to the *resh* there is a vertical semicircular stroke. Most likely, this is a parenthesis or sigma sign. In 4QQoh^a (4Q109) II 1 this sign occurs at the end of an interlinear addition. (9)

(8) DJD 23:224. In a recent re-edition of 11Q13, Elisha Qimron disregards the traces of letters after כִּיא, reading: [שִׁן מושה כִּיא]. See his *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Between Bible and Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 2:278 (Hebrew).

(9) The presence of the sigma, as well as the following reference to 4QQoh^a and Tov's discussion, was pointed out to me by the anonymous reviewer. On the uses of sigma and antisigma in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 201-3.

There it indicates, according to Emanuel Tov, “an addition of words which had been omitted by way of homoioteleuton.” (10)

This new reading lends itself to several interpretations. First, the very juxtaposition of a form of שׂייר, the name of Moses, and the conjunction כִּי immediately suggests a selective quotation from the opening verse of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1):

אוּ יִשִּׁיר מֹשֶׁה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת לַיהוָה לֵאמֹר אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה כִּי גָאָה
גָּאָה סוֹס וּרְכָבוֹ רִמָּה בַיָּם

Indeed, Exod 15:1-18 and the extant text of 11Q13, particularly its second column and scriptural texts underlying it, display several thematic and verbal affinities. Thus, column II cites the Jubilee laws from Lev 25:9, 10, 13 (II 2, 5-6, 25) along with Deut 15:2 (II 3-4) postulating a remission of debts in the seventh year. (11) Both Lev 25 (vv. 54-55) and Deut 15 (v. 15) explicitly link their respective regulations to the redemption from the Egyptian servitude. And so does the immediate context of another passage cited in column II 16, 23, Isa 52:7 (see vv. 3-4). (12) The themes of liberation and God’s vengeance reverberating in this column, not least thanks to the multiple references to Isa 61:1-2 (and perhaps v. 3; in lines 4, 6, 9, 13, 18, 20), (13) are also featured throughout the Song of the Sea. Finally, some of the Isaiah’s wording has parallels in Exod 15:17-18, וַתִּטְעַמּוּ בַּהֲרָה נַחֲלֶתְךָ ... יְהוָה (cf. [Isa 52:7] [61:3] אִמְרָה לַצִּיּוֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִמְלֹךְ לְעֹלָם וְעַד), whereas the locution נַחֲלֶתְךָ מֶלֶךְ צִדְקָה used in column II 5 is reminiscent of the Song’s בַּהֲרָה נַחֲלֶתְךָ.

Second, it is also possible that the phrase שִׁיר מֹשֶׁה [is a part of an introductory formula, שִׁיר מֹשֶׁה ב, akin to the one used in column II 9-10 to introduce a citation from Ps 82:1: כֹּאשֶׁר כָּתוּב עָלָיו בְּשִׁירֵי דָוִד: אֲשֶׁר אָמַר. In this case, one may still maintain the connection with the

(10) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 202.

(11) The scriptural texts utilized in column II are helpfully presented in Eric F. Mason, ‘You are a Priest Forever’: *Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Chronology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, STDJ 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 176-77.

(12) The language and imagery of Exodus permeate the chapters attributed to Second Isaiah. For a general discussion, see, for instance, Bernard W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernard W. Anderson and Walter J. Harrelson (New York: Harper, 1962), 177-95. For Second Isaiah and Exod 15 in particular, see Ian Douglas Wilson, “The Song of the Sea and Isaiah: Exodus 15 in Post-Monarchic Prophetic Discourse,” in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, BZAW 461 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 123-48.

(13) As noted in DJD 23:230 and in multiple studies on 11Q13, e.g., that of Merrill P. Miller, “The Function of Isa 61:1-2 in 11QMelchizedek,” *JBL* 88 (1969): 467-69.

Song of the Sea by suggesting that the scroll quotes here Exod 15:1b opening with a conjunction **כי** [כ/כִּי]. Yet, if the phrase **שיר משה** is indeed a part of an introductory formula, one should also consider a possibility that **כִּי** is a continuation of that formula. 1QpHab utilizes the locution **כִּי הוּא אֲשֶׁר אָמַר** to introduce scriptural citations (III 2, 13; V 6). (14) Admittedly, this formula is absent from 11Q13 and a juxtaposition of a citation source, such as **שיר משה**, with the phrase **כִּי הוּא אֲשֶׁר אָמַר** is unattested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, as noted above, 11Q13 does employ an unusual combination of **כִּי** with **כֹּאשֶׁר כָּתוּב עָלָיו ב-** to introduce Ps 82:1. If **כִּי** is indeed a part of some such “double formula,” then the Song of the Sea ceases to be the only possible referent here. (15) For *Shirat Ha'azinu* (Deut 32) is another Moses's **שִׁירָה** (דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת) [Deut 31:30] displaying affinities with 11Q13 II, such as the notions of Israel being God's portion, **נַחֲלָה** (v. 9; cf. II 5) and divine retribution (vv. 35, 43; cf. II 9-11, 23). Furthermore, there are also psalm 90, Moses's **תַּפְּלָה**, and a “non-Masoretic” **תְּהִלָּה לְאִישׁ הָאֵל[הִי]ם** (4Q381 24 a+b) understood by some as referring to Moses, though the appellations of **תַּפְּלָה** and **תְּהִלָּה**, rather than **שִׁירָה**, may render them less likely candidates. (16)

This uncertainty regarding the nature of the reference to Moses's song in 11Q13 could have been resolved, if the traces of the letters next to **כִּי** were legible. (17) However, until they are plausibly deciphered, an interpretation assuming some type of reference to Exod 15:1 seems to be the most economic one. If correct, what could be a tentative

(14) On this formula and its distribution in the pesharim, see Moshe J. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshar Technique,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 30-70 (35, 67-68).

(15) The term “double formula” is borrowed from Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas,” 61.

(16) For a consideration of either Mosaic or Davidic attribution, see Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*, HSS 28 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 28-29; idem, “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 4A (Louisville: Westminster John Knox; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 2. For a forceful argument for David as a referent, see Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*, JAJSup (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 182-3, 188-89. For his re-edition of the psalm (which includes, in his opinion, also frags. 19 ii, 28, 29) and commentary, see *ibid.*, 184-97.

(17) The traces of ink next to **כִּי** are difficult to decipher due to the abrasion of the leather (see the full color image B-483339 available at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-483339>). One of the anonymous reviewers tentatively suggests **כִּי אֲמַן**.

exegetical motivation behind the use of the Song of the Sea in 11Q13? Given this scroll's preoccupation with eschatology, one might conjecture that Exod 15:1 could have been integrated in its vision of the Last Days. Of the few Dead Sea texts alluding to the Song of the Sea, at least two do so with eschatological events in view. (18) A prayer embedded in 1QM XI 9-10 contains a plea to God to deal with his enemies as he did with Pharaoh and his forces (Exod 15:4). More importantly, 4Q174 (4QFlorilegium) 1-2 2-3 interprets Exod 15:17-18, the very passage sharing verbal affinity with 11Q13 2 and its sources, as referring to the future establishment of the Temple by God himself. (19) With these instances of eschatological interpretation of Exod 15 in mind, one may recall that column II 1-9 offers an eschatological exegesis of Lev 25:10 and Deut 15:2. The Deuteronomic remission of debt during the seventh year is juxtaposed here with the proclamation of liberty during the Jubilee Year. These are taken to imply a future forgiveness of sins during the eschatological Day of Atonement. In light of this, Gary Anderson proposes that the scroll envisages Israel as being sold into a servitude because of her sins, a notion further developed in the aforementioned study by Ariel. Anderson explains that the scroll's vision of the future liberation from this slavery is based on the story of Exodus, "Israel's primal category of salvation." (20) Perhaps, this suggestion serves as a point of entry into understanding the scroll's use of the Song of the Sea, the poem celebrating Israel's liberation from the Egyptian slavery by God's mighty hand.

Ariel FELDMAN
Brite Divinity School at
Texas Christian University

(18) Several other texts found at Qumran make a use of the language of the Song of the Sea. The "mighty waters" of Exod 15:10 are evoked in 1QH^a XVI 20, as well as in the retelling of the Flood story in 4Q370 I 4. The wording of Exod 15:11, "Who is like You, O Lord," is utilized in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471b 1a-d 5; 4Q427 7 i 8 [partially reconstructed]).

(19) 4QFlorilegium introduces Exod 15:17-18 with a formula כֹּאשֶׁר כָּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר מֹשֶׁה.

(20) Gary Anderson, "From Israel's Burden to Israel's Debt: Towards a Theology of Sin in Biblical and Early Second Temple Sources," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1-30 (16).

LA PRÉSÉANCE DU MESSIE PRÊTRE EN *IQSa* II 11-22

La reconstruction exemplaire des fragments de papyrus en écriture cryptique A de 4Q249a (1) en une copie de la *Règle de la Congrégation*, 4QSE, (2) mais qui aurait plus simplement pu être désignée 4QSa, est une occasion pour reprendre l'étude de lignes disputées à la colonne II. (3) Grâce à la remise en place des fragments, les auteurs ont relevé plusieurs variantes textuelles, quelques ajouts de part et d'autre, plusieurs doublets ou répétitions en *IQSa*, l'absence de suffixes longs mais une orthographe moins phonétique par endroits que *IQSa*, et enfin ils ont proposé quelques solutions de lecture dans des passages lacuneux de *IQSa*. (4) Comme la copie du papyrus de la grotte 4 paraît devoir être datée *circa* 100 avant J.-C., (5) elle est contemporaine ou quelque peu antérieure à celle de *IQSa*, ce qui suppose une composition au plus tard dans le dernier tiers du 2^e s. comme il en est de *IQS*. Il n'est donc pas sans importance de revenir sur un passage de la présence du messie dans la Communauté précisant sa place et ses attributions en plusieurs occasions.

En 4Q429a IV 13 commence la dernière partie de la *Règle de la Congrégation* précisant l'ordre dans les sessions et dans la participation

(1) Édités par S. Pfann, «4Q249a-z and 4Q250a-j», (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 515-577, p. 534-574.

(2) J. Ben-Dov - D. Stökl Ben Ezra - A. Gayer, «Reconstruction of a Single Copy of the Qumran Cave 4 Cryptic-Script Serekh Haedah», *RdQ* 109 (2017) 21-77.

(3) Voir E. Puech, « Préséance sacerdotale et messie roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation (*IQSa* ii 11-22) », *RdQ* 63 (1994) 351-365. Plusieurs fois dans des notes, j'ai eu l'occasion de revenir sur la lecture יועד, ligne 11.

(4) Voir Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 65-71.

(5) Voir Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 31. Il est certain que *IQSa* était cousue à la suite de *IQS*, comme l'a démontré sans doute possible J.T. Milik, in *Qumran Cave I*, by D. Barthélemy, O.P., and J.T. Milik, (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 108-109, malgré les réserves de E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, (STDJ 54; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 23 et 77.

des invités aux banquets et aux repas communautaires. Les restes de la ligne 13 א[ו]ה[מ]ר[ו] שב recoupent deux mots en partie lacunaires de *IQSa* II 11 qui ont fait difficulté : suite à d'autres débuts de paragraphes, Barthélemy a proposé de lire $\text{ה[ו]א[ו]ה[מ]ר[ו] שב}$, mais restauration trop longue pour l'espace, j'avais proposé $\text{ה[ו]א[ו]ה[מ]ר[ו] שב}$, Stegemann $\text{ה[ו]א[ו]ה[מ]ר[ו] שב}$, et Charlesworth - Stuckenbruck suivis par Qimron $\text{ה[ו]א[ו]ה[מ]ר[ו] שב}$, mais manifestement un peu court. (6) La lecture de *4Q429a* est grammaticalement difficile, l'article à un mot construit. Les auteurs renvoient à la construction $\text{ויערוך השולחן היחד}$ de *IQSa* II 17-18, mais dans ce cas la traduction « et préparer la table ¹⁸commune », expression avec l'adjectif déterminé, est à comparer à $\text{ו[אם] לשול[חן] יחד}$ « Et[quand ils] se réuniss[ent pour une ta]ble commune », expression indéterminée. (7) La lecture de *4Q429a* n'est certainement pas possible en *IQSa* II 11 par manque d'espace, (voir figure 1), et la légère trace d'encre au bord peut être celle de la base du *waw*, « Et/Quant à » ayant ici le sens de וזה . Il n'est en rien avantageux de préférer la variante de *4Q249a*.

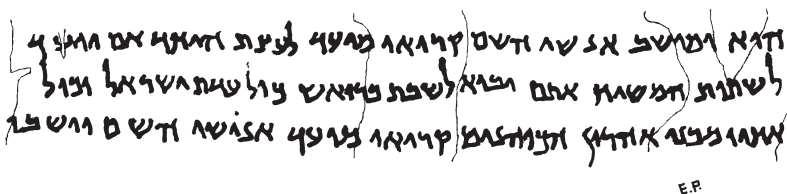


Figure 1 : *IQSa* II 11-13

À la fin de la ligne 11, la lecture de *IQSa* a fait difficulté. Barthélemy a lu ויליד , « lecture pratiquement certaine par transparence », mais il avoue que « אתם serait plus facile à expliquer si l'on admet avec J.T. Milik que ויליד est une faute de lecture du scribe pour ויליד primitif ». (8) Les auteurs retiennent cette lecture à la suite des explications de F.M. Cross et d'un examen de PAM 42.926. (9) *4Q249a* IV 14 qui

(6) Voir J.H. Charlesworth and L.T. Stuckenbruck, «Rule of the Congregation (*IQSa*)», in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Volume 1 — *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. by J.H. Charlesworth, (The Dead Sea Scrolls; Tübingen - Louisville: J.C.B. Mohr - Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), p. 116-117, et voir d'autres renvois en Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 70-71.

(7) Voir Barthélemy, *op. cit.*, p. 117, et les renvois en Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 71, mais il n'est pas certain que cette lecture soit à restaurer en *IQSa* 11.

(8) Barthélemy, *op. cit.*, p. 117, suivi par Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117.

(9) Voir Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 71, qu'ils citent.

n'a conservé que י]ד אה, ne peut apporter son témoignage. Toutefois, le tracé des lettres que la meilleure photographie PAM 42.926 de *IQSa* II révèle assez bien, exclut formellement la lecture du *yod*, le tracé du 'ain est assuré, même si le cuir gélatineux en cet endroit a disjoint la lettre en deux, excluant la boucle du pied du *lamed*. (10) La partie gauche croisée du *waw* touche le trait curviligne du 'ain. La lecture יועד est certaine (voir figure 1). (11)

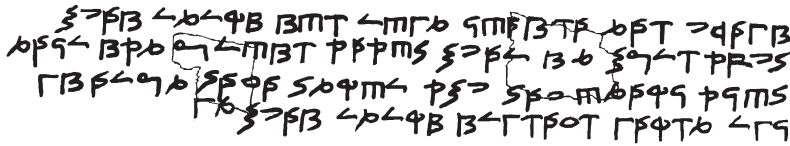


Figure 2 : 4Q429a IV 13-16

Au début de la ligne 12, sur une proposition de Milik, Barthélemy a restauré א[ת] המשיה, mais le départ du tracé de la lettre s'oppose au jambage droit du 'alef. (12) J'avais suggéré le jambage gauche de *šin*, mais le tracé convient bien mieux au départ du jambage et de l'épaule de *taw*. (13) Semble attendue la restauration de [לש]ת[ות] suite au verbe précédent pour rendre « se joindre à [un ban]q[uet]/ sym]p[osium] », et convenant à l'espace.

Barthélemy a restauré la lacune suivante en II 12 ainsi : [הכוהן], que j'avais partiellement suivi en restaurant [הכוהן ב]ראוש un peu trop chargé pour l'espace, et de même Charlesworth - Stuckenbruck. Mais la restauration [לשבת ב]ראוש est bien préférable pour l'espace. (14)

(10) Voir aussi la reproduction couleur du Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center by West Semitic Research, Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, que je remercie, qui met en relief la déchirure de la surface mais plus l'extrémité du bras droit du 'ain.

(11) Ma précédente tentative de lecture ne manquait pas d'incertitudes (il semble, paraît, etc.), comme correction de יועד, déjà lu par Gaster, mais le pluriel retenu par Yadin et suivi par Qimron est exclu, il n'y a rien après *dalet* bien visible.

(12) Lecture retenue en partie par Charlesworth - Stuckenbruck, *op cit.*, p. 116, [אלה את], signalant même le sommet du *lamed*, mais il n'y a manifestement rien, et par Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 61 et 64.

(13) La lecture [הכ]ת[הן] proposée par E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), p. 237, n'est pas possible, tête de *waw* exclue.

(14) Avec Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 237, comparant Jb 29,25 et Jr 16,8, et Ben-Dov *et alii*, *cit.*, p. 61 et 64, mais dans un Postscript (p. 77), les auteurs optent maintenant pour la restauration de Barthélemy, mais cette restauration est trop longue pour la distance à la marge, tout comme d'ailleurs déjà en *IQSa* 12, qui demande à la changer.

Au début de la ligne 13, le reste de 'alef et l'espace demandent de restaurer [אחי מן בני] et non [אחי מן בני] (15). Pour cette même séquence dans les manuscrits, voir *IQM* VII 10, et *4Q266* 5 ii 5 et 18. Ensuite le copiste a écrit אנ{ו}שי, corrigé par exponctuation au-dessus. (16)

En *IQSa* II 14, la restauration י[בוא מש] s'impose, au lieu de י[שב מש] de Barthélemy. (17)

À la ligne 17, *IQSa* II lit יועד[ו או לשתות הת]ירוש, mais l'espace ne permet pas de lire יועד[ו לשים לחם ות]ירוש. (18)

En *IQSa* II 18, l'espace demande une restauration plus longue, à moins d'un défaut de la surface. Une lecture איש[אל ישרה] trouverait quelque appui en *4Q429a* V 7 ת[ח/מ]. (19) On peut alors comprendre « pour [le] boire », ou « pour [leur] banquet ». Dans ce contexte et bien souvent ailleurs, le mot תירוש ne peut signifier « vin nouveau/moût » mais tout simplement « vin » consommable tout au long de l'année.

Lire ainsi :

¹¹ [הוא ו]מועד[אנשי השם] קריאי מועד לעצת היחד אם יועד

¹² [לש]ת[ות] המשיח אתם יבוא[לשבת ב]רואש כול עדת ישראל וכול

¹³ א[חי מן בני] אהרן הכהנים קריאי מועד אנ{ו}שי השם וישבו

Traduction du dernier paragraphe, *IQSa* II 11-22 :

« ¹¹... E[t la sé]ance des hommes désignés [invités aux] convocations pour le conseil de la Communauté : Quand ¹²le Messie ¹¹se joindra ^{12a}à eux [pour un ban]q[uet,] il prendra [place en]tête de toute la Congrégation d'Israël, et tous ¹³[ses] f[rères parmi les fils d']A[aron, les prêtres [invités aux] convocations des hommes désignés, siégeront ¹⁴de[avant lui, chacun] selon sa dignité. Et ensuite [viendra le Messi]e d'Israël et siégeront devant lui les chefs des ¹⁵mil[liaires d']Israël, cha[cun selon sa dignité d']après [sa] po[sition] dans leurs camps et dans leurs déplacements, puis tous ¹⁶les chefs des a[nciens de la congré]gation avec l[eurs sages et leurs instruits] siégeront devant eux, chacun selon ¹⁷sa dignité. Et[quand ils] se réunir[ont pour une ta]ble commune [ou pour boire du v]in, et qu'est préparée la table

(15) Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 237, lecture restaurée par Ben-Dov *et alii, cit.*, p. 61 et 64 en *4Q249a*, restauration du papyrus qui serait une variante.

(16) Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 237, lit אנשי, suivi par Ben-Dov *et alii, cit.*, p. 61 et 64.

(17) Avec Charlesworth - Stuckenbruck, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117, et Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 237, suivi en V 2 par Ben-Dov *et alii, cit.*, p. 61, 65, et 71.

(18) Charlesworth - Stuckenbruck, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117, beaucoup trop long et tautologique. Ben-Dov *et alii, cit.*, p. 61, 65, proposent en V 6 יועדו או במועד התירוש, mais moins en situation avec la reprise ensuite.

(19) Ben-Dov *et alii, cit.*, p. 59, 61, 65, lisent לשותת אל, en pointant les deux lettres, mais le reste du tracé ne paraît pas correspondre à celui du 'alef, plutôt à celui de waw ou mem.

¹⁸*commune* [et versé le] vin pour [le/ur] banquet, [que] personne [n'étende] sa main vers les prémices ¹⁹du pain et [du vin] avant le Prêtre, car [c'est lui qui doit] bénir les prémices du pain ²⁰et du vi[n et étendre] sa main vers le pain en premier, et ensui[te] le Messie d'Israël [éte]ndra ses mains ²¹vers le pain, [et enfin pourra bé]nir toute la congrégation de la Communauté, cha[cun selon] sa dignité. Et selon cette norme ils feront ²²pour tout re[pas où seront] réunis au moins dix hommes. »

Ainsi lu, il est clair que le Messie en question (ligne 12), est le Messie-Prêtre comme le précise la suite, ses frères les prêtres fils d'Aaron ; dans toute convocation de la congrégation il a la préséance sur le Messie-Roi, le Messie d'Israël qui, lui, a préséance sur ses hommes (lignes 14-15), puis prennent place devant eux les anciens, (lignes 15-17). Enfin, pour la participation à un banquet ou aux repas (lignes 17-22), le Prêtre, (ligne 19 = le Messie-Prêtre) a toujours la préséance sur le Messie d'Israël. Le passage reconnaît clairement le bimessianisme connu par les autres compositions esséniennes, *IQS* IX 11, *CD* XII 23-XIII 1, XIV 19, XIX 10-11 et XX 1, *4Q175*, toutes datée de la deuxième moitié du 2^e s. avant J.-C., sans une quelconque évolution parfois avancée, dans la conception messianique de la Communauté.²⁰ Enfin au sujet de la *crux* de ce passage, il n'y a une quelconque allusion à un engendrement du messie par Dieu.²¹

Émile PUECH
CNRS-Paris
EBAF-Jérusalem

(20) Voir J. Starcky, « Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân », *RB* 73 (1966) 353-371.

(21) Comme l'écrivait A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte*, (Bibliothèque Historique ; Paris : Payot, 1959), p. 123, et note 1 : « Le Messie », c'est ici, semble-t-il, le « Messie d'Israël » ainsi nommé aux lignes 14 et 20, c'est-à-dire le Messie-Roi, le Messie laïque. Son avènement n'a pas encore eu lieu, mais il est attendu dans un avenir plus ou moins proche. », repris dans « Règle annexe de la Communauté », in *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires*, (Paris : Gallimard, 1987), p. 51-52. Vu la difficulté, la lecture de l'éditeur, (Barthélemy, *op. cit.*, p. 110), a été traduite et interprétée en substituant la lecture יליך, et en faisant appel à la variante des LXX en Ez 36,12 (p. 117-118). La lecture retenue ici évite ces explications alambiquées et devrait être restaurée en *4Q429a* iv 14, ainsi que la séquence suivante, voir figure 2.

NEWLY IDENTIFIED PENTATEUCHAL FRAGMENTS: 4QEXOD^G (4Q18, EXOD 12:51-13:3), 4QDEUT^{K3} (4Q38B, DEUT 30:13-18)

OVER the last few years the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) has been digitizing the Dead Sea Scrolls and making them available to the public on the website of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (www.deadseascrolls.org.il). (1) In addition to the imaging of the fragments, the digitization project also requires a concentrated cataloging effort. As a result, many unpublished fragments have been discovered on the plates. The following paper is part of a series of updates on new identifications made as an outcome of the digitization project.

Cataloging the Dead Sea Scrolls

In the past, catalogs of the Dead Sea Scrolls contained three different categories: photographs, manuscripts, and museum plates. (2)

* This paper was written as a result of my work at the Dead Sea Scrolls Projects of the Israel Antiquities Authority. I would like to thank the team at the Dead Sea Scrolls Projects for all the help with my work in general and this paper in particular. To Pnina Shor, Curator and Head of Dead Sea Scrolls Projects; to my fellow scrolls researchers Orit Rosengarten and Beatriz Riestra; to the conservators Lena Libman, Tanya Bitler, Tanya Treiger, Yana Frumkin, Asya Vexler, and Ashlyn Oprescu; and to the photographer Shai Halevi.

(1) For a previous comprehensive report about the digitization aspects of the project see P. Shor, M. Manfredi, G. H. Bearman, E. Marengo, K. Boydston, and W. A. Christens-Barry, "The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library: The Digitization Project of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies* 2, no. 2 (2014): 71-89.

(2) The main content of S. A. Reed, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers*, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) is in practice a set of inventory lists of these three different categories. A different format of presentation was used in the more recent: E. Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Tov presented the material in a chart which lists

Fragments were taken into consideration only as parts of these categories and not independently. In the new digitization project, each fragment is imaged individually. (3) The fragment is then registered in the IAA electronic database together with its basic data, including the number given to it in the official publication. (4) Within the database, each fragment is a separate entity. In practice this means that for the first time the IAA is creating an inventory list of *all* the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the IAA collection.

During the compilation of this new list, at first, many fragments which are physically on plates could not be located in the official publications. Eventually, many of these seemingly unpublished fragments were identified. Some were published in the DJD series, but for various reasons were not located on the physical plate mentioned in the publication. Usually this was because the missing fragment was located on a different plate than the other fragments of the same manuscript. In other cases, the editors of DJD thought fragments were “lost” and based their publication only on their PAM negatives. (5) Several fragments were also identified in publications other than the DJD series.

Of far more interest are a group of fragments that to the best of my knowledge have not been published. In many cases, it seems that these fragments were not included in DJD since they were not attributed to any specific manuscript and some, at best, contained only a few letters. However, several fragments contain significant amounts of text that allow us to draw tentative conclusions about their content and identification. In this paper I will provide images, (6) transcriptions and information on two “new” fragments belonging to Pentateuch manuscripts. (7)

a manuscript and all the known museum plates and photographs associated with that manuscript. At times Tov also provided information on specific fragments.

(3) It should be noted that the category of ‘fragment’ is problematic and in many cases open to interpretation. Due to technical considerations, for the digitization project the IAA defines a single fragment as whatever can be lifted off a plate in one piece. In practice this means that sometimes what the IAA lists as one fragment is only a part of a larger fragment in the publication. Alternatively, fragments that were published separately, each with their own number, may have been physically joined and are now considered as one fragment. See more on this issue in an earlier discussion by S. A. Reed, “What is a Fragment?,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 123-25.

(4) Much of the data entry work was done with the help of volunteers. I would like to thank our volunteers Barry Bowalsky and Laura Warden whose work enabled my research.

(5) For example, DJD XXIII, 415, reports that fragments 1, 2, and 5 of 11Q22 could not be located. During the digitization project frg. 1 was identified on plate 1022, and frg. 5 on plate 697. Frg. 2 has still not been located.

(6) All images in this paper have been magnified in order to facilitate easy reading.

(7) I would like to thank Noam Mizrahi who reviewed these fragments. He offered some corrections, some identifications, and a lot of good advice. Any mistakes made in this paper are my own.

An Exodus Fragment Possibly Belonging to 4Q18 (Exod^e)

The fragment is located on plate 146, which contains seven unidentified fragments. (8) The fragment is c.3 cm high and c.1.5 cm wide. The distance between the lines is c.0.4 cm, and the average letter height is c.0.3 cm. The script is a late Hasmonean formal hand, with some semi-formal tendencies.

The text can be transcribed as follows:



1.] ◦◦ ◦◦[

2.]ל מארן[

3.] vacat [

4.]ש לי כ[

5.]◦ א[

Figure 1. Photographer: Shai Halevi.
Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea
Scrolls Digital Library, IAA

Notes:

L. 1 Only traces of the letters on this line have survived and they could not be deciphered.

L. 3 The entire line was probably left blank as a marker of a major sense-division.

L. 4 לי. The *yod* can also be read as a *waw*.

L. 5 The first letter cannot be deciphered with certainty. However, it is most likely a *he*.

Although only two full words have survived on the fragment, it seems that the text can be identified. This particular string of words and

The fragments were first presented in a seminar at the Orion Center, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in May 2016. The Deuteronomy fragment was also presented at the IOQS/EABS meeting at Leuven in July 2016. Additional fragments presented during those lectures will be published in the near future. I would like to thank the participants of both lectures for their helpful comments.

(8) According to the list in Reed, *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, 478, this plate contains fragments given to Cross for publication. Each fragment has only a few words (and sometimes only partial words). All fragments appear in PAM 43.121. This photograph is listed as containing fragments of 4Q72 (Jer^e), but this seems to be a mistake. The photograph contains only the seven unidentified fragments and none of them could be identified with the published fragments of 4Q72. The texts on the rest of the fragments will be published in the future.

letters matches the text of Exod 12:51-13:3. This is the only match found in the Hebrew Bible and nothing similar can be found in the non-biblical scrolls from Qumran. (9) Based on this identification I would suggest the following partial reconstruction:

- .1] ם ם ם ם [
- .2 51[ישראל מארץ] מצרים
- .3] vacat [
- .4 13:2[קדש לי כל בכור
- .5 3[יבאמר מש] א (10) א[ל העם

This fragment is very similar to the single fragment of 4Q18 (Exod^g). (11) Both fragments were written in a similar late Hasmonean hand. The size of the letters and the intervals between the lines are almost identical in both fragments. Both fragments preserve a major sense-division and both mark this by leaving a blank line. Both fragments are also of a mid to light brown color.

Despite these similarities there are also a few differences that could indicate that both fragments are not part of the same manuscript. There are some slight paleographic differences in the shapes of certain letters. For example, in 4Q18 the left leg of the *alef* tends to curve to the right (although this is not so pronounced in one of the examples). This characteristic is absent from the two examples of *alef* in the new fragment. A certain degree of variance within the handwriting of a scribe is to be expected, and this can explain the small differences between the two fragments. However, neither fragment has a large enough sample of letters to make a clear assessment of the scribe's handwriting. It therefore seems probable that the same scribe copied both fragments, but this is not certain. If a larger sample of letters had survived, more differences may have been noticeable.

There are also some physical differences between the fragments that could indicate that they originate from different manuscripts. (12) Although the colors of the fragments are very similar, they are not completely identical. It is not clear to what degree such a difference

(9) Theoretically, this fragment could contain an unknown non-biblical text. However, the exact match with a biblical text makes this possibility extremely unlikely.

(10) The *he* is not certain. It is reconstructed here based on the assumption that line 5 contains Exodus 13:3.

(11) Published by J. E. Sanderson, "4Q18. 4QExod^g," in *Qumran Cave 4 VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 145-6. I would like to thank Noam Mizrahi for suggesting this identification.

(12) I would like to thank Tanya Treiger for her advice on the physical aspects of the fragments.

can be expected within the same manuscript. In addition, the new fragment is thicker than that of 4Q18. This could perhaps be explained by arguing that some of the lower layer of the parchment of 4Q18 has been lost. (13) 4Q18 has also suffered from slight shrinkage damage. The new fragment has not suffered from this type of damage. This can either serve as evidence that the fragments are not part of the same manuscript, or alternatively explain some of the physical differences.

All of the physical differences can also be explained by arguing that the fragments are from different sheets of the same manuscript. This however seems highly unlikely. 4Q18 preserves on its left margin the stitching at the end of the sheet. Since 4Q18 preserves Exodus 14:21-27 and the new fragment preserves Exodus 12:51-13:3, the distance between the fragments could not have been too large. In order to argue that both fragments came from different sheets one must assume either very short columns or that the sheet had an abnormally narrow width. Both possibilities seem rather unlikely. Therefore, a conclusive answer about whether the fragments are related or not is not possible at this time. New research methodologies might perhaps provide an answer in the future.

A New Fragment of 4Q38b (4QDeuteronomy^{k3})

This fragment is located on plate 390, which contains miscellaneous fragments of Deuteronomy manuscripts from cave 4. It was placed (upside-down) towards the top right corner of the plate directly beneath the single fragment published by Duncan as 4Q38b. (14) As will be argued below, both fragments belong to the same Deuteronomy manuscript. The published fragment was apparently designated as part of 4Q37 (4QDeut^j) by the original group of scholars working on the cave 4 fragments, although this identification was not included in any official publication. 4Q37 was published in a preliminary form by Duncan in her dissertation, and already there she questioned this identification. (15) By the time DJD XIV was published she reached the

(13) Note that on some of the edges of the new fragment there are signs of a separation forming between the layers of parchment.

(14) J. A. Duncan, "4Q38b. 4QDeut^{k3}," in *Qumran Cave 4 IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 107. The fragment was first presented as fragment 14 of 4Q37 in J. A. Duncan, "A Critical Edition of Manuscripts from Cave IV: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^b, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^f" (PhD Diss., Harvard University [University Microfilms], 1989), 109. Plate 390 also contains fragments of 4Q29, 4Q35, and 4Q39. Two other fragments on this plate have not been identified. They are both damaged and neither appear to contain any text.

(15) Duncan, "A Critical Edition," 89 n.2. The reasons raised by Duncan for questioning the earlier identification of the fragment with 4Q37 are: slightly different

correct conclusion that this fragment cannot be part of 4Q37. She therefore designated the fragment as 4Q38b and published it as a separate manuscript.

The published fragment (henceforth frg. 2) was originally placed on plate 172 together with fragments of 4Q37. (16) At some point it was moved to plate 390. It is not clear who did this and when, but we can speculate that this was done due to doubts about its connection to 4Q37. It is possible that it was moved to plate 390 since a scholar noticed its connection to the new fragment (henceforth frg. 1) that was already placed there. Alternatively, both fragments were placed there at the same time or the new fragment was placed there at a later date. In any event, both fragments appear in their current placement on plate 390 in photo IAA 204599 taken in 1988. (17)

At its largest extents the new fragment is *c.*1.5 cm high and *c.*4.3 cm wide. The average letter height is *c.*0.3 cm, and the interval between the lines is *c.*0.3 cm. The right margin of a column has partially survived on the fragment. At its widest extent it is *c.*1 cm.

Before I discuss the connection between the two fragments it would be helpful to first examine their text as it survived with no reconstructions:

Fig. 1 (Deuteronomy 30:13-15)

1. לנו וישמם]○○○[זַעֲשֵׁנָה כֹּ
2. אליך הדבר מאד בפֿיך ובלִי]
3.]אָה נָתַתָּ לִי vacat
4.]הִיָּם אֵל [

paleography; different orthography; a significant difference in column width; and a significantly wider right margin in the fragment of 4Q38b.

(16) DJD XIV mistakenly records 4Q38b on plate 172. This plate contains fragments of 4Q37 and all the original PAM images show 4Q38b grouped together with these fragments. See PAM 42.644; 42.634; 42.720; 43.054. By 1988 the fragment had been moved to plate 390 as can be seen in photograph IAA 204599. The fragment is mentioned in the inventory list of Reed, *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, 488, on plate 390, but is still identified as part of 4Q37. In Tov, *Revised Lists*, 25, both plate 172 and plate 390 are noted as the location of 4Q38b.

(17) Although this photo is noted by Duncan in DJD XIV, no mention is made of this new fragment. However, this photo is not of a high quality and it is difficult to decipher the text of the fragment. It is also not obvious in this photo that the fragment is connected to the one directly above it.

I have also identified the new fragment on PAM 42.046 (taken in April 1956), where it is grouped together with many other fragments which at the time were unidentified.

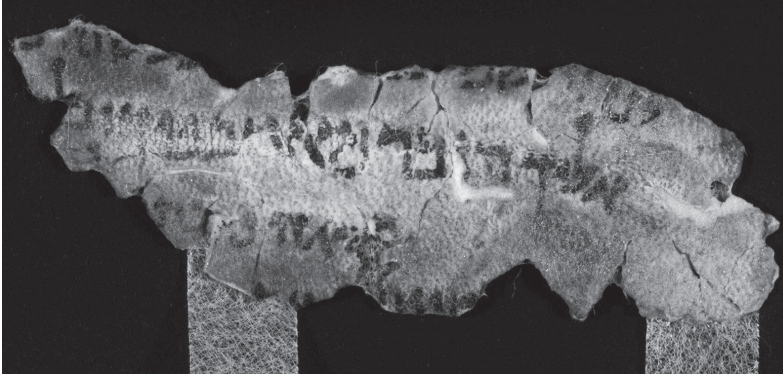


Figure 2. Photographer: Shai Halevi.
Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, IAA

Notes:

L.1 וישם: A small tear in the parchment splits between the *yod* and *shin*. After the *mem* there are traces of two or three letters. The first seems to be a tiny remnant of either a *yod* or the right arm of an *ayin*, followed by another small tear. There are then traces of the lower parts of two letters, most likely *ayin* and *nun*. The word should probably be reconstructed as וישמענו or possibly וישמענו.

L. 1 נעשנה: Only partial traces of the bottom strokes of the first *nun* and *ayin* have survived. The rest of the letters are also damaged, but their identification is certain.

L. 1 כ: Only the bottom stroke of the letter has survived.

L. 2 הדבר: A small tear runs through the *dalet* and part of the letter has been lost.

L. 2 ובל: Only a tiny trace of the upper stroke of the final letter has survived. This trace does match a *bet* and the word should be reconstructed as ובלבכך.

L. 3 אה: There is a *vacat* before the word indicating the beginning of a new paragraph. The first letter has been damaged and cannot be deciphered with certainty. Some of the strokes are consistent with those of a *resh*, which would be the correct letter here. However, other traces of ink at the upper right corner of the letter do not fit this identification. It is possible that these traces are the remnants of a scribal correction or notation written slightly above the line. It is possible that the damage here to the parchment was first caused by an attempt to erase a mistake made by the scribe.

L. 3 נתת: The first *taw* has been damaged. Only tiny traces remain of the final letter, but it is most likely a *yod*.

L. 3 ל: Only the head of the *lamed* survives over the line.

L. 4 הַיּוֹם : Only the upper strokes of all the letters have survived. The reading is not certain. It is possible that הַיּוֹם is the correct reading here. However, it seems more likely that הַיּוֹם is the last word of the previous line.

L. 4 אֵת : Only the upper strokes of the letters have survived. The identification of the *alef* is certain.

Fig. 2 (Deuteronomy 30:16-18) (18)

1. אֵת הַיּוֹם
2. לְבַבְךָ וְלֹא תִשְׁמָן
3. לְאֵלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים
4. הַיּוֹם כִּי אֲבֹדְךָ
5. יָמִים עָלְךָ

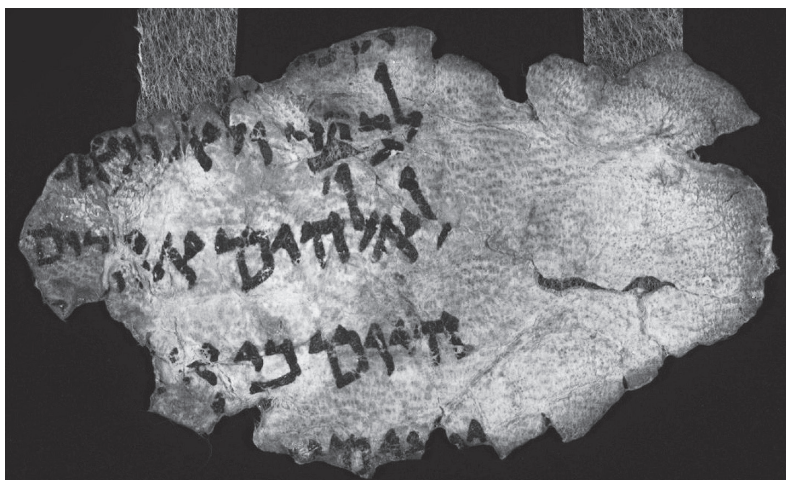


Figure 3. Photographer: Shai Halevi. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, IAA

Notes:

L. 1 אֵת הַיּוֹם: Only the bottom strokes of the letters have survived. The identification of the *alef* seems certain.

L. 2 לְבַבְךָ: A hole has damaged the second *bet* and part of the bottom stroke of the final *kap*.

L. 2 תִּשְׁמָן: Only the bottom right stroke of the *mem* has survived.

L. 3 אֲחֵרִים: The *het* and *resh* are both damaged.

(18) The transcription offered here is meant to be an improvement on DJD XIV, 107. The new images of the fragment have revealed some new ink traces which allowed more certainty in reading some of the letters.

L. 4 אֲבָרָה: Traces of the *bet* are visible mainly in the new images. The *dalet* has fallen off from the fragment and is visible only in older photos.

L. 5 מֵיָמִים: The medial *mem* has been split by a tear.

L. 5 עָלָה: A trace of the head of the *lamed* was revealed in the new multi-spectral image.

The connection between the fragments can be established for the following reasons:

1. Physical Appearance: Both fragments have a blackened surface and suffered similar damage. There is shrinkage around the edges and both fragments have been distorted to the extent that their surface is now uneven and ridged. The ink can be seen only in IR images, and even then, with some difficulty.
2. Text: Frg. 1 contains the text of Deuteronomy 30:13-15, while frg. 2 contains Deuteronomy 30:16-18. (19) Since the texts on the fragments do not overlap, but do come from neighboring verses, it is highly likely that they are both from the same manuscript.
3. Paleography: Both fragments are written in the same formal late Herodian hand. (20) The right margin of the column is preserved on both fragments. This makes it possible to calculate the line width for both fragments, which is 25-31 letters. This is rather short in comparison to most Qumran biblical scrolls and reinforces the proposal that both fragments belong to a single column of the same manuscript.

Although the surviving text of this manuscript is too short for any clear conclusions about its textual character, it appears that both fragments preserve a text identical to MT. The newly identified fragment contains the same paragraph division after 30:14. Moreover, the variant of וּבִידֶךָ found in 4Q29 (4QDeut^b) and LXX for 30:14, (21) is almost certainly not found in this manuscript. Although the end of this verse has not survived in frg. 1, it appears that only a few letters are missing at the end of every line. It is highly unlikely that the extra word could

(19) Duncan, DJD XIV, 107.

(20) Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in honor of W. F. Albright*, ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 173-81. Note that on page 139 (Fig. 2, line 7) Cross used 4Q37 as one of the examples for late Herodian script. Since at the time Cross published this article it was still not recognized that 4Q38b was a separate manuscript, it is possible that some of the letters used by Cross in the figure are in fact taken from 4Q38b. In general, the hands of 4Q37 and 4Q38b are rather similar, although some slight differences are noticeable on close examination.

(21) Cf. Duncan, DJD XIV, 11.

have fit into this small gap. It should also be noted that there are no orthographic variants in comparison with MT.

Based on the assumption that the text here is identical with MT it can be calculated that there are four lines of text missing between the two fragments. I offer the following reconstruction for the text:

1. ¹³לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה ¹⁴כי קרוב
2. אליך הדבר מאד בפך ובלבך [בך לעשות]
3. ¹⁵ראה נתי לי [פנך היום] *vacat*
4. [את ה]חיים [ו]את [הטוב ואת המות ואת]
5. [הרע] אשר אנכי מצוך היום לאהבה
6. [את יהוה אלהיך ללכת בדרכיו ולשמר]
7. [מצותיו וחקתיו ומשפטיו וחיות]
8. [ורבית וברכך יהוה אלהיך בארץ אשר]
9. אתה בא שמה לרשתה ¹⁷ואם יפנה
10. לבבך ולא תשמע ונדחת והשתחורית
11. לאלהים אחרים ועבדתם ¹⁸הגדתי לכם
12. היום כי אבדך תאבדון לא תאריכון
13. ימים על האדמה אשר אתה עבר

Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented two new possible identifications of Pentateuchal fragments:

1. A fragment containing letters and words from Exod 12:51–13:3. It perhaps belongs to 4QExod^g (4Q18).
2. A fragment containing portions of Deut 30:13–15. This fragment is almost certainly part of 4QDeut^{k3} (4Q38b). The other fragment of this manuscript contains Deuteronomy 30:16–18, and both fragments probably originated in the same column.

The study of small unidentified fragments from the Qumran caves is frequently a daunting task that is not likely to yield many significant results. In most cases there is not much one can say about an unidentified fragment other than noting the fact that it exists and that few or no letters could be deciphered. In this paper I have tried to demonstrate that in some cases even some of the smallest fragments that contain very little text can add information about the scrolls, offer a better understanding of the manuscripts they once belonged to and thus be significant for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Oren ABLEMAN
Israel Antiquities Authority

RECENSIONS

Jessica M. Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour: A Gendered Analysis of Everyday Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities* (Library of Second Temple Studies 91; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), pp. 204 + xi. £ 85.00. ISBN 978-0-5676-7224-7.

This book is based on Keady's doctoral thesis and demonstrates that the Qumran evidence on purification rules sheds light on the lives of ordinary men and women in the late Second Temple era. In Keady's analysis, which pays equal attention to both sexes, these ordinary people stand for "the non-elite members of the DSS communities" on whom "strict halakhic interpretations of purity rules" were imposed (p. 11). Rejecting systemic and abstract approaches to impurity, Keady promotes a dynamic notion of purity and highlights non-elite experiences. To achieve this goal, she draws on a range of methodological and theoretical frameworks, including masculinity studies and especially the idea of hegemonic masculinity as well as the notions of embodiment and spacial dynamics. In line with recent discussion, gender is regarded as performative and constantly changing in essence.

The book consists of seven chapters. Following the introduction, ch. 2 reviews previous research on (im)purity and gender from the discovery of the DSS to the present date. Although significant development has taken place with respect to both, Keady shows that it is time to bring the themes of gender and purity together. Ch. 3 offers theoretical discussion on masculinity, embodiment, and everyday life. Keady argues that a dynamic understanding of masculinity is relevant regarding (im)purity; theories of embodiment can illustrate functional and social bodies of both men and women, and everyday life is a worthy topic of study on its own. While addressing the latter, she employs Susie Scott's approach which concentrates on three aspects of everyday life: its mundane nature, repetitive routines, and the effect of breaking rituals. Keady proceeds to ask: How did purification laws influence people's daily life? What kinds of routines pertain to them? What about the social effect of breaking such social/religious laws? The rest of the chapters tackle these questions and integrate the theoretical discussion into the textual analysis of the DSS.

Ch. 4 explores constructions of ideal masculinity that are meant to serve as models for the men of the DSS communities. Concentrating on the literary

evidence of the Community Rule and the War Scroll, Keady teases out the vulnerability of the impure male in particular: the state of impurity can be seen as a loss of masculinity and ideal masculinity was inaccessible to the ordinary male. More specifically, Keady argues that “the inability to achieve a state of perfection alongside daily life left the male vulnerable to social situations and when impure his status would be unstable” (p. 78). Some differences between the selected primary sources are also traced: 1QS focuses on moral perfection, while 1QM stresses physical obedience. 1QS depicts the men as being ranked against each other, whereas 1QM implies the presence of women.

Ch. 5 addresses impure women from the viewpoint of embodiment and daily life, claiming that they were empowered and controlled in comparison with the impure men. This argument is built on the fact that the leaking of female bodies is anticipated while that of male bodies is more unpredictable and thus less controlled. Impurity was surely private and personal to both sexes, but it had more social effects on men who regularly took part in communal activities: impurity prevented a man from carrying out his normal functions, thus disrupting the daily life and creating a social collapse of some kind. This leads Keady to conclude that the state of impurity could reverse the expected gender roles, making the man more vulnerable than the woman, which gives a potentially neutralizing dimension to the male impurity.

Ch. 6 analyses the dynamics between impure men and women by focusing on spaces in the everyday life of the DSS communities. How are purity and impurity related to communal spaces? Based on her reading of the Temple Scroll, Keady considers mundane impurity to affect men’s daily life by restricting their spatial presence in their communities; although the spaces discussed in the text are imagined, they could have influenced the reality of spaces. The Rule of the Congregation, in turn, sheds light on “the micro-levels of communal life through education and life-cycles” (p. 177). Notably, it depicts both sexes as taking part in education, even if the focus eventually shifts to men. Finally, moving from texts to archaeology, Keady points out how physical and spatial isolation of impure people would have broken down daily routines.

The brief conclusion in ch. 7 recapitulates the book’s aim to grasp the dynamic nature of both gender and purity in the DSS. Keady indeed offers a fresh voice to the discussion, managing to show that men’s position can potentially be more vulnerable than that of impure women. While the chosen focus on embodiment and the everyday is very welcome, I would have enjoyed reading more methodological reflection on the study of lived religion in the context of ancient Judaism, a dead religion of some kind, considering the recent publications on lived religion in religious studies (esp. Robert Orsi), biblical studies (esp. Susan Niditch), and classical philology (esp. Jörg Rüpke). The discussion on gender could also have been set in the broader cultural context of the Hellenistic East (yet see Keady’s brief remarks on Greco-Roman ideals on pp. 82–84). Finally, the fair amount of metatext makes the book slightly repetitive at times, while the analyses of the primary sources could perhaps have been more detailed. Nevertheless, Keady succeeds to communicate a stimulating perspective that hopefully shapes and reorients the study of the DSS.

Elisa UUSIMÄKI

Simon J. Joseph, *Jesus, the Essenes, and Christian Origins: New Light on Ancient Texts and Communities* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018), pp. x + 227. Cloth. \$39.95. ISBN 9781481307765.

This book attempts to situate the historical Jesus within what Joseph characterizes as an “Essenic” milieu.

Joseph avoids discussions about redaction-critical issues, the synoptic problem, and the historicity of individual Jesus traditions. This makes the book easier to read but also somewhat frustrating because at times one feels that important discussions are missing. Joseph’s approach is to take for granted that “the historical Jesus was a wise man who taught in Galilee, ‘attracted followers, clashed with people over misinterpretation of the Law, gained a reputation as a (sometimes) successful healer and exorcist, preached the coming of the kingdom, often spoke in parables, and went to Jerusalem where he died’” (20). By accepting these “general contours” as “generally reliable”, Joseph feels that he has a sufficient basis for accepting certain Jesus traditions as historically reliable and for proceeding with his inquiry about whether Jesus can be appropriately situated within an “Essenic” milieu.

Chapter One discusses the history of theories regarding Essene-Christian relations. While some of these theories have been outlandish or overstated, Joseph pleads for the “inherent probability” of a connection between the Essenes and the early Jesus movement (18-19). In Chapter Two Joseph argues for identifying the Essenes and the Qumran sectarians. He also tries to summarize their chief concerns, distinctive rituals, and teachings. Chapters Three and Four are where Joseph lays out the main evidence for his thesis and this is where I shall focus my review.

He discusses the Qumran sectarians’ expectations concerning the “eschatological prophet”, arguing (81-84) that they were expecting Moses *redivivus* to fulfill this role (cf. 4QTest). Although principally envisaged as a “prophet”, Moses was also anointed (cf. 4Q377 2 ii 5); hence, he was regarded as a “Messiah”. Joseph thinks that the New Testament Gospels portray Jesus similarly, casting him as both an eschatological prophet and a Messiah. This explains why Jesus distances himself from John’s expectations about a conquering “Davidic” Messiah and envisages himself instead as a Messiah who heals bodily ailments and preaches good news to the poor (Matt 11:4-5 // Luke 7:22) (94-95).

Against Joseph here, it might be noted that in 1QS IX 11 the eschatological “prophet” is distinguished from “the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel” precisely by the fact that he is *not* called a “Messiah”. Perhaps it would have been worthwhile for Joseph to have explored whether John the Baptist can be contextualized in light of Qumran expectations about the eschatological prophet.

As additional support for first century belief in a prophetic Messiah, Joseph (81) points to the “herald” of Isa 52:7 and the anointed figure of Isa 61:1. These texts, he thinks, were understood in Jesus’ day to speak of prophetic figures, as in 11QMelch 2.15-20 and 4Q521 2 ii. But this line of reasoning is questionable. I myself have argued that the sectarian 11QMelch does *not* speak of a prophetic Messiah but of a royal Messiah and a priestly Messiah (Michael

Flowers, “The Two Messiahs and Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek,” *JAJ* 7.2 (2016): 194-227). This interpretation of 11QMelch coheres with the messianic expectations attested in many other sectarian texts: e.g. CD XII 23-13.1; XIX 10-11; XX 1; 1QS IX 11. As for 4Q521, Stephen Hultgren (“4Q521, The Second Benediction of the *Tefilla*, the *Hāsīdīm*, and the Development of Royal Messianism,” *RevQ* 23.3 (2008): 313-340) has argued that משיח in 2 ii 1 is a royal rather than a prophetic figure. Joseph briefly mentions Hultgren’s article but does not engage with it.

For Joseph, the parallels between 4Q521 2 ii and Matt 11:4-5 // Luke 7:22 are too striking to be coincidental (93-95). Furthermore, he does not think that the parallels can be explained in terms of a “common tradition” (a tradition not associated with a specific theological movement). Rather, the authors of the Gospel saying and the Qumran document must have drawn from a specific and distinctive exegetical tradition. This suggests a close social or ideological linkage between these authors. The author of the Gospel saying is “reconfiguring an *inherited* exegetical tradition—already present within the Qumran/Essene library—which associated Isaianic blessings with the arrival of an ‘anointed’ figure” (95, emphasis original). Joseph’s reasoning here is compelling but this may only be because we know so little about the exegetical traditions current in the first century. It is no less conceivable that the exegetical tradition attested in 4Q521 and Matt 11:4-5 // Luke 7:22 was more widespread, not distinctive of either the Qumran sectarians and the early Jesus movement.

Joseph suspects that Jesus would have agreed with the Essenes about the temple being corrupt and likely joined them in repudiating temple worship. He notes that Jesus is never portrayed as offering sacrifice, that he often denounces the temple leadership and prophesies about the temple’s destruction. At the same time, Joseph notes that other data give a different picture. Luke claims that Jesus’ parents offered sacrifices and that John’s father was a priest. The Fourth Evangelist indicates that Jesus attended annual religious festivals. All four evangelists claim that Jesus taught in the temple. And according to the synoptic Gospels Jesus encouraged participation in temple worship (Matt 23:20; Mark 1:44). Joseph attributes this temple-friendly material to Jesus’ followers who wanted to revamp Jesus’ image. *Pace* Joseph, one could argue that these two types of data are not mutually exclusive. The prophets of the Jewish Bible also denounced the religious leadership and foretold of the temple’s destruction. Yet they did not regard the temple as wholly impure or repudiate participation in temple worship.

Joseph rightly challenges those who seem only to recognize differences between the Essenes/Qumran sectarians and the Jesus movement. These differences, he argues, should not cause us to overlook the parallels, which cannot all be dismissed as insignificant or coincidental. The Essenes seem to provide “a missing link in the study of Christian origins” (169).

Despite the striking and abundant parallels, however, Joseph thinks that it would be a mistake to see John, Jesus, or the Jesus movement as Essenes or as having once been directly tied to the sect. The evidence often indicates disagreements between Jesus or his movement and the Essenes. For example, the Essenes did not allow an animal to be removed from a pit on the Sabbath

whereas Jesus took this as a given. In emphasizing both agreement and disagreement Joseph judiciously resists the temptation either to overdraw the parallels or minimize the differences.

Few of Joseph's observations in this book will seem groundbreaking. He mostly draws attention to parallels between the Qumran sectarians/Essenes and the early Jesus movement that have long been noted and discussed in the scholarly literature. However, he lays out these parallels in informed, intelligible, and compelling ways. In this respect his book is a worthy contribution to discussions about the origins of Christianity. It displays a remarkable breadth of scholarship and a mind that has deeply reflected on a great number of issues. Furthermore, this book's copious footnotes make it an excellent guide for further research.

Michael FLOWERS

Robert A. Kugler and Kyung S. Baek, *Leviticus at Qumran* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 173; Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. x + 124. € 105.00 / US \$ 120.00. ISBN 978-90-04-32978-2.

The book's stated purpose is to "assemble in one place the evidence required to undertake the kind of study that might yield an answer to the question of the relationship between Leviticus and the Qumran community's construction of its own identity" (vii). Kugler and Baek offer some concluding thoughts on these questions in the final chapter, but description, collation, and index comprise most of the book.

Leviticus at Qumran is divided into six chapters, of which the second and fifth alone exceed ten pages and make the work's primary contributions. The first chapter, "Discovery and Description of the Leviticus Scrolls and Some Related Texts" provides a basic bibliography and publication history of each scroll, maps out its contents, and discusses significant peculiarities. The first chapter is designed to be consulted regularly alongside the second chapter, "Transcription of the Leviticus Scrolls with Variant Readings."

The transcriptions in chapter two are reproduced directly from Eugene Ulrich's *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSupp 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010). The collation in chapter two is not exhaustive, but nearly so. Several texts, like 4Q156 and texts from sites outside of Qumran (e.g., Masada) are discussed, but not reproduced in the transcriptions. No significant variants are lost by these omissions, but they could have been included without affecting printing costs or volume layout. The inclusion of 4QLXXLev^a and pap4QLXXLev^b are a noticeable improvement over Ulrich's 2010 publication, the latter papyrus manuscript providing the earliest vocalization of the Tetragrammaton into Greek as Ιωω.

The third chapter, "Variant Readings in Order by Chapter and Verse," a contribution by the late Peter Flint, reproduces the variants from chapter two as a single list in canonical order, rather than by individual "biblical" scroll. Chapter four, "The Use of Leviticus in the Scrolls by Chapter and Verse," lists all passages in Leviticus that are quoted, alluded to, or otherwise utilized in

“non-biblical” scrolls. The fifth and longest chapter, “The Use of Leviticus in the Scrolls by Scroll,” provides a brief paragraph or a few sentences on each (“non-biblical”) scroll listed in chapter four, describing the contents and context of its use of Leviticus. These lists, descriptions, and indices are the greatest contribution of the volume and will greatly facilitate inquiries into the nature of the Qumran community’s relationship to Leviticus.

The final chapter, “Leviticus at Qumran: Concluding Thoughts on the Text and Interpretation,” provides a synthesis of thoughts and conclusions following the presentation of the data in the previous chapters. The authors conclude, following Ulrich, that by the Second Temple Period, only a single variant literary edition of Leviticus existed which underlies the primary witnesses of \mathfrak{M} , \mathfrak{G} , and \mathfrak{ae} . The covenanters (as Kugler and Baek collectively term all the authors, copiers, and possessors of texts found at Qumran) were “more inclined to echo [Leviticus’] language and adapt its regulations than to overthrow its sense altogether through aggressive rewriting” (98). The so-called Holiness Code of chapters 17-26 is the most utilized section of Leviticus at Qumran, with chapters 19, 23, and 26, respectively, used most frequently (98-99). Kugler and Baek map out three broad categories of use, the second being largest: (1) employing the rhetoric of Leviticus without its specific stipulations, (2) taking up the substance of Leviticus, without changing its terms, but applying it towards a new purpose, and (3) rewriting Leviticus (implicitly or explicitly) to subvert its norms and stipulations. Seventeen instances are relegated to a fourth undetermined category they dub “represented” in the new text. Within these categories, the authors attempt to classify all the various Qumran texts, being as descriptive as possible. They treat *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* as equally representing the community at Qumran as 1QS and 1QM. Although this does not adversely affect the value of the tool they have created, it does highlight how the authors adopt positions implicitly or by default. This violates their stated purpose of being as objective, descriptive, and non-committal as possible on areas of scholarly disagreement, or at least shows it to be untenable. They spend nearly a page addressing Andrew Teeter’s discussion of the plus in Lev 17:4 (4QLev^d), as this potentially contradicts their frequently re-stated assertion that Leviticus exists only in a single literary edition. They say, “one major difference...does not constitute sufficient evidence for treating the witnesses that possess it as an alternate literary edition...To be sure, the expansion in Lev 17:4, as Teeter explains it, stands out as the boldest expression of this impulse on the part of scribes transmitting the text, but it is still just that” (97). Other conclusions are vague or seemingly contradictory. For example, the community “deeply respected Leviticus and its power as a text. They demonstrated that respect with their assiduous efforts to claim its power for themselves and their positions by redeploying its rhetoric in their own works” (103). In this case, “respect” seems to refer to reverence for the text’s power, not piety towards the text’s stipulations, but Kugler and Baek do not elaborate. Similarly, the community used the Levitical law “as the foundation on which they built their own norms... it also seems that they were generally reluctant to bend Leviticus to the point of breaking” (103). Exactly at what point textual reuse or appropriation “breaks”

the original source is not explained. The vague, limited, or sometimes self-contradictory summaries make many of the concluding (and introductory) remarks of less value than the lists and indices between them.

Even though nearly all of the second chapter stems from Ulrich's earlier volume, which itself distills a number of DJD volumes, some errors are retained, and others are introduced. For example, in both Ulrich's earlier volume and the work in question, 11QpaleoLev^a contains a reconstruction reading [למאר דבר] where וידבר יהוה אל מ' reads "לאמר" instead of "למאר." Other differences between the two publications include variations in critical sigla, such as in the apparatus to 11QpaleoLev^a where *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, page 124, twice has 𐤔 for the Targumim, where, the otherwise identical apparatus of *Leviticus at Qumran*, page 27, has 𐤅, meaning the Old Greek. The same variation reoccurs in the apparatus at the bottom of page 34 vis-à-vis Ulrich's earlier apparatus. On page 28, where *Leviticus at Qumran* departs from Ulrich's earlier transcriptions, following Tigchelaar's reordering of the 4QLev^c fragments, Kugler and Baek provide two reconstructions which depart from 𐤌 inexplicably, and introduce a new error. Line 6 (Lev 19:37) is reconstructed to read "כל משפטי ועשייתם אתם בני יהוה" with the error "בני" for "אני." The following line of the reconstruction has "תדבר" reconstructed instead of the 𐤌 reading "תאמר." Orthographic variants are not consistently listed throughout, perhaps resulting from the various DJD volumes from which the transcriptions in both *Leviticus at Qumran* and *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls* have been culled. Some variants, though of minimal value, are not listed at all, e.g., in Lev 13:58-59, 11QLev^b twice lacks the definite article found in 𐤌.

Leviticus at Qumran provides a conglomeration of data that is of primary use to scholars interested in any aspect of how Leviticus was transmitted, interpreted, or otherwise utilized by the Qumran community. Chapters two and five provide the core (and majority) of the work, and help identify its target audience: scholars of the Qumran community and textual critics. Chapter five, in addition to the various lists and indices, will prove indispensable, or at least greatly facilitating, in following up various lines of inquiry regarding Leviticus' status and use at Qumran. As a text-critical resource, Kugler and Baek's volume offers very little by way of improvement over Ulrich's 2010 volume in the same series. The small improvements (including Greek texts, updating 1QpaleoLev-Num^a joins) are perhaps offset by a handful of errors and discrepancies that potentially erode confidence in the care taken in the assembly and updating of the material in chapter two. In any case, textual critics of Leviticus will soon have a plethora of new tools available as both Stefan Schorch's critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch Leviticus and Innocent Himbaza's edition of Leviticus for *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* are due to appear in 2018. *Leviticus at Qumran* provides a compact and up-to-date collation of all Qumran texts and variants, and as such will prove a useful, if not indispensable, companion to these forthcoming tools, and it has much to offer independently in its own right.

John F. QUANT

C. D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism, 200 BCE–CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Pp. xiii + 253. £ 65.00 / US \$ 95.00. ISBN 978-0-19-964041-6.

In his most recent book, C.D. Elledge reassesses ancient Jewish claims about the resurrection of the dead in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (c. 200 BCE – 200 CE). Except in the conclusion, Elledge opts not to treat early Christian and rabbinic literature at length; instead, he focuses on “the latest writings of the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as the writings of other Hellenistic Jewish authors” in order to avoid “retrojecting theories about later evidence into earlier contexts or creating linear development that only reach fruition within later normative traditions” (1). This study makes significant contributions to the study of resurrection in early Judaism through its incorporation of “advances in the interpretation of *1 Enoch* 1-36 and 91-108, as well as more recently published Dead Sea Scrolls, like the *Messianic Apocalypse* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*—alongside renewed interest and controversy surrounding Josephus as a source for early Jewish theologies,” and through its utilization of “social-scientific methods of analysis” (2). Ultimately, Elledge argues, “The story told in the literature of Judaism in the Hellenistic and early Roman eras is not that of a belief that had already become dominant, but rather of the dynamic reception of an insurgent and controversial theodicy” (13-14).

After situating his project in the context of the wider study of resurrection in an introductory chapter, in the second chapter Elledge traces the diversity of perspectives on resurrection within early Judaism, a diversity which is reflected primarily in questions about “the varied modes of embodiment in which Jews expressed resurrection and the ways in which they positioned resurrection in relation to the spatial dimensions of the cosmos” (17). In light of such a “diversity of expression,” in chapter three, Elledge problematizes popular theories on the origins of resurrection within Judaism, whether from internal development or external influence. Instead, he suggests early Jewish literature provides evidence of the various responses to the “new Hellenistic order” which “brought to the Near East a seismic reorientation of traditional values, including attitudes toward death” (45). In chapter four, Elledge identifies three general strategies employed by ancient Jews to legitimate their claims about resurrection: (1) the language of prophecy, (2) the language of creation, and (3) the necessity of justice. Alongside the various indications of the growing popularity of belief in resurrection, Elledge also brings together the evidence for afterlife denial in early Judaism (chapter 5) and the relationship between resurrection and the immortality of the soul (chapter 6).

For the remainder of the book, Elledge considers the views of resurrection in the Book of Watchers (chapter 7), the Dead Sea Scrolls (chapter 8), and Josephus (chapter 9), all of which require a fresh analysis in light of recent developments within scholarship and add further complexity to the portrait of the views of resurrection in early Judaism. According to Elledge, resurrection in *1 Enoch* 20-36 is defined by its integration with the Enochic themes of “the ‘great judgment’ and the restoration of the ideal antediluvian life in which God

originally created the earth" (130). This formulation likely developed at the end of the third century BCE prior to the Maccabean revolt, the historical context often cited as initiating the flourishing of hope in the resurrection among Jews in the Second Temple period. Moreover, the affirmation of resurrection in a limited number of texts from Qumran (*Messianic Apocalypse*, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and *4QInstruction*^d) exemplifies that the Qumran community "was still in a dynamic process of receiving the resurrection hope, as resurrection gradually increased in exposure in multiple sectors of Judaism during the late second to early first centuries BCE" (150). Finally, Elledge argues that, when he describes Jewish eschatological beliefs, Josephus engages in "an apologetic cultural translation that made use of established doxographic and ethnographic techniques" (176). Such a method, however, does not disqualify Josephus "as an important witness to the popularity and vitality of the resurrection hope in early Judaism" (195).

This book provides an excellent overview of the relevant literature and issues related to the study of resurrection in early Judaism. In light of Elledge's judicious treatment of such a breadth of literature and clear contextualization of this topic's manifold complexities, the reader would have benefited from his detailed discussion of the teachings of Jesus and Paul and evidence from early rabbinic literature. The conclusion does briefly compare views of resurrection within early Judaism with those of the "nascent church and emerging rabbinic Judaism." However, only mentioning these movements in the conclusion appears to set them off as something distinct from the rest of the early Jewish literature treated in the body of the book. Even though I do not think that treatment of this evidence would have changed the author's representation of the diversity of perspective within early Judaism, it seems to me that any discussion of early Judaism in the first two centuries of the common era without treatment of these sources as evidence for early Judaism, despite "occasional hazards," is incomplete.

Particularly helpful are Elledge's reconstruction of the diversity of belief within early Judaism on resurrection, his emphasis on the necessity of considering how views of resurrection fit within the larger theological perspectives of individual authors and communities, and his demonstration of the value of considering the social environments within which these beliefs developed. Overall, Elledge provides a convincing and accessible treatment of the early history of Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead.

Jonathan R. TROTTER

Jason K. Driesbach, *4QSamuel^a and the Text of Samuel* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 171; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. xii + 353. € 135 / \$ 162. ISBN 978-90-04-32250-9.

The book corresponds to the dissertation, lightly revisioned, defended by J.K. Driesbach in 2014 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This book represents the first, deep and complete published discussion of the Qumran Scroll 4QSam^a's relationship with the biblical Books of Samuel since the

publication of DJD XVII in 2005. For this reason, this work will be of great interest to scholars that deal with the Books of Samuel and the Qumran Scrolls of Samuel.

The book is divided into three parts: Introduction (chapters 1-3), Secondary readings in the textual witnesses to Samuel (chapters 4-8), Conclusions and implications (chapters 9-10). Two appendices (Readings of equal value; some details pertaining to the readings exhibiting literary development), bibliography, and two indices close the book.

The aim of this work is “A novel approach towards 4QSamuel^a”, that is, according to Driesbach, the suggestion that “a more thorough synthesis of the character of the secondary readings in the major witnesses to Samuel could form a basis for resolving . . . questions” (p. 297, cf. p. 47) about the earliest text of Samuel. Therefore, the analysis of secondary readings between the sources is the basis of Driesbach’s work; he divides secondary readings into five main categories: textual error, linguistic exegesis, harmonizations, clarifying exegesis, and content exegesis. Each category is further divided into sub-categories. Textual errors (chapter 4) have a division into interchanges due to visual confusion, minuses (or pluses) due to visual confusion, different division of words, loss of weakened gutturals, and sundry mistakes. Linguistic exegesis (chapter 5) is divided into verbs, prepositions, the article and the direct object marker, nouns, and conjunctions. Harmonizations (chapter 6) do not have further subcategorization, while clarifying exegesis (chapter 7) is divided into clarification of the speaker or addressee in dialogue, clarification of actor, clarification of location, and contextual explications. Content exegesis (chapter 8) contains scribal embellishments, and theological changes. This division is a positive point that helps clarify the sense.

I agree with Driesbach’s choice to consider very few reconstructed variants, because — in my opinion — reconstructed variants cannot be at the basis of further suggestions for lower and higher criticism.

Chapters 1 and 2 are of undoubted value: they are a very clear, but at the same time detailed, *status quaestionis* about 4QSam^a. Driesbach considers the most recent literature about the scroll, and in my opinion, this is the best “introduction” about 4QSam^a’s problems for scholars and students.

It is important to note that his approach “takes Tov’s position as a working hypothesis, namely that the pre-Lucianic variants most likely derive from the fact that Lucian had OG Samuel as a base text, which had been translated from a non-MT Hebrew text” (p. 41).

In chapters 3-8, as related above, Driesbach analyzes the variants between 4QSam^a and other witnesses. It is impossible here to review all the variants described by the author, but I intend here to propose a reflection about the text of 4QSam^a. In my opinion, the work of Driesbach is lacking in paleographical considerations. An example: at p. 184, Driesbach analyzes the famous “Nahash plus” that occurs only in 4QSam^a and Flavius Josephus, but is lacking in other biblical sources. At line 8 Driesbach has the same text as DJD XVII, that is:

[אשׁ]ר לוא נקרא לו נחש מלך בנין עמון כול עין ימן ונהן שבעת אלפים איש

However, the word רָק might be read רָק (see e.g. A. Finke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran*, Brill, 2001, p. 17), but Driesbach follows the text of DJD XVII, as do E. Ulrich (*The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, p. 271) and E. Tov (*TCHB*, 3rd ed., p. 312). Is it possible to make textual considerations on the basis of a disputed text? If DJD XVII's text — as pointed out by several scholars — does not represent a totally reliable edition, can we discuss the history of 4QSam^a and its relationship with other witnesses? In general, Driesbach could pay more attention to paleographical evidence of the scroll.

About conclusions and implications, Driesbach points out the large amount of scribal exegesis in 4QSam^a and the relatively close affiliation of 4QSam^a with G and their distance from MT (p. 295). He concludes (p. 297) that “this analysis shows G^B (i.e. the codex Vaticanus) to contain fewer secondary readings than 4Q, MT, or G^L (i.e. the Lucianic recension). Therefore, in general, G^B can be said to probably reflect the text closest to the original text of Samuel. And generally, MT is also close to the original, while G^L and 4Q show a marked increase in secondary readings”. I do not really agree with these conclusions, as I am more skeptical about the position of MT, but this is not the place to discuss it.

Various features of 4QSam^a might be construed as signs that it is an edition (p. 301), but Driesbach follows E. Ulrich and according to him they prove to be “isolated scribal interventions” rather than marks of a literary edition; Driesbach concludes that his analysis “finds that 4Q's conflations are isolated and infrequent, so that the few proposed instances of *textus mixtus* represented in agreements with MT or with Chronicles ultimately fall short of the designation *codex mixtus* or of the recognition of a literary edition of the book on such a basis” (pp. 301-302).

About stemmatical considerations, Driesbach proposes a stemma (p. 305) that: 1) shows the affiliation of 4QSam^a with the OG, 2) portrays 4QSam^a's considerable independent development, and 3) takes into account the influence of proto-MT on 4QSam^a as separate from the influence of proto-MT on G^B and G^L. According to Driesbach, “a group of texts”, including precursors to G^B, G^L and 4QSam^a, “preserved some elements of the earliest text of Samuel that had been lost in (proto-) MT just as MT preserves other readings that were lost or altered in G^B, G^L, or 4Q” (p. 304). Finally, 4QSam^a “accumulated many secondary features not found in G, so that 4Q is in many ways a less reliable witness than G” (p. 305).

Discussing here Driesbach's conclusions is difficult, but I would point out here some aspects of his work. First, the first part of the book, as described above, is a seminal resume of scholarship about 4QSam^a. Second, I appreciate his thorough analysis of secondary readings. I agree with his consideration about the use of secondary readings in the analysis of the witnesses. Third, the categorization of the variants and their numeration (every variant in fact has a serial number) facilitates the reading, and the analysis of the readings is undoubtedly thorough and precise.

However, in addition to the above considerations about the paleography of the scroll, Driesbach's aim “to focus on quality without ignoring quantity” (p. 53) should be addressed. In general, statistical analysis seems to be secondary

with respect to the quality of the variants, but in certain cases, it seems the opposite: see e.g. the considerations at the end of every chapter dealing with variants, or note 4 at p. 272.

Overall, this work represents a complete analysis of 4QSamuel^a, and it is of undoubted value for those who wish to approach this fragmentary and complicated scroll. Scholars who deal with 4QSamuel^a should take into consideration Driesbach's work.

Andrea RAVASCO

Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525* (STDJ 117; Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. xii + 360. € 129.00 / US \$ 167.00. ISBN 978-90-04-31339-2.

This is a revised version of Uusimäki's 2013 Helsinki dissertation, an in-depth study of 4Q525, also known as *Beatitudes*. The avoidance of that term in the title reflects the intention of the author to move away from the circumscribed focus of previous scholarship on the series of macarisms appearing in frg. 2 ii and toward a comprehensive consideration of the entire preserved text in its multiple dimensions. After an introductory chapter outlining the relevant research history and the scope and theoretical concerns of the ensuing study, the main body of the book is laid out in four chapters dealing with (1) the material reconstruction of the scroll, and the Hebrew text, English translation, and structural analysis of the work, (2) the influence of scripture on 4Q525, (3) the literary genre, social setting and function of the composition, and (4) the place of 4Q525 within the Jewish pedagogical tradition of Hellenistic Judea.

In many ways the broader lines of enquiry taken up in the book's later chapters depend on the editorial work carried out in the first chapter. Of primary importance is the material reconstruction, according to which 4Q525 was originally a smaller scroll measuring some 205 cm and consisting of at least thirteen columns about 20 cm in height. It is unfortunate that in this first comprehensive study of 4Q525 no images have been included. This makes it virtually impossible to follow the discussion of the arrangement of the fragments without constantly consulting external resources such as DJD 25 and the Leon Levy Digital Dead Sea Scrolls Library. When this is done, the corresponding damage patterns described by Uusimäki become reasonably clear. However, while such damage patterns do reveal that correlating fragments should be arranged along the same horizontal axis, they do not automatically tell us whether a specific fragment belongs to the right or to the left of its counterpart and how far away (in terms of scroll revolutions) it should be located. The terse discussion of the evidence does not always reveal the explicit reasoning behind the relative placement of specific fragments, leaving the reader to consider such reasoning on her or his own. As it turns out, the correct arrangement of the columns is enormously important for the author, since, according to her reconstruction, the scriptural allusions in 4Q525 follow the sequence of Prov 1-9, with only a few deviations, beginning with frg. 1 in "Col. I" (which alludes to

Prov 1) and ending with frg. 24 ii in “Col. XIII” (which alludes to Prov 9). This proposed sequence represents one of the linchpins in her thesis that 4Q525 engages in a type of rewriting of Prov 1-9, and, in turn, this plays a key role in her understanding of the genre and purpose of the work. Fragment 1 indeed alludes to the prologue of the book of Proverbs, and, given that it derives from the top of a column, it is tempting to assume that it constitutes the very beginning of the composition. Even so, it should be emphasized that it cannot be known whether or not this piece comes from the first column of the scroll. On the one hand this is duly noted by the author. On the other hand an important element of her thesis rests on this very assumption.

Chapter 2 sets out to chart a hierarchy of scriptural influences on 4Q525. Here Uusimäki ambitiously seeks not simply to identify the sources drawn upon by the composition but also to determine the authorial intent underlying such references. She adopts a binary model, distinguishing between allusions, which represent conscious attempts to direct the reader’s attention to the scriptural source, and echoes, which may or may not have been conscious, the recognition of which would not have been crucial for grasping the meaning of the new text. The analysis finds dominant allusions to Prov 1-9, secondary allusions to Deut 32 and Ps 91, and echoes of Deut 33, Ben Sira, and a variety of psalms (Pss 1, 15, 24, 119, 154). This combination leads to an overall understanding of 4Q525 (expressed fully in the following chapter) as a pedagogical document modeled on Prov 1-9 that incorporates numerous new elements and accents relevant to the “spiritual formation” of the intended audience, most significantly the integration of “torah piety” into wisdom discourse, but also eschatological, dualistic, demonological, apotropaic, and liturgical elements. Needless to say, establishing such a detailed understanding of the intentions and relative impact of the scriptural references would have been a tricky proposition even with a fully preserved text, and, especially due to the text’s fragmentariness, there is plenty of room left for debate about specifics. Do references to Pss 15 and 24, which have been understood as liturgies of entrance, really bespeak a liturgical purpose within the new context of 4Q525? Is it accurate to characterize the verbatim citation of Ps 15 in frg. 2 ii as a mere echo, or the parallels with Ps 91 in frg. 15 as allusions meant to infuse wisdom with an apotropaic element? Despite such uncertainties, Uusimäki’s analysis represents a significant step forward in scholarship, as it begins to untangle the bewildering web of scriptural references upon which the text is constructed and clarify some of the complex processes and concerns underlying the production of the composition. Moreover, in arguing that 4Q525 may be categorized as a rewriting of Prov 1-9, she points to the need to reevaluate the types of texts that may be included within the category of rewritten Bible.

The third chapter turns to the difficult matters of genre, setting, and function. Strong affinities in form, content, and pedagogical purpose lead to the conclusion that Prov 1-9 served as the generic prototype onto which 4Q525 grafted a number of new concepts. The apparent identification of wisdom with “the torah of the Most High” (2 ii 4) represents an extremely significant development, which, along with the other religious and ideological accents

mentioned above, speaks to the new setting and function of the text that aims for “a more comprehensive spiritual formation of the audience, which is taught to find its wisdom, protection, and source of blessing in the religious tradition” (188). Unfortunately, the Hebrew word *torah* appears only once in the preserved text and it remains difficult to specify what is meant by it, although it clearly goes beyond the use in Proverbs. Uusimäki locates the composition within elite circles of the mid-second century BCE, correctly noting the absence of overt signs of sectarian provenance. Later on in history, the text would be received by Qumran community members, who would naturally have reinterpreted the emphases on torah, demonology, and social dualism in the light of their own unique sets of beliefs. The author is well aware of the challenges involved in reconstructing the text’s historical use and function on the basis of such sparse evidence. Nevertheless, she posits that it was read aloud as part of some type of public performance and that it is best understood in terms of speech acts meant to imbue the intended audience with a particular identity. The key here are the macarisms and curses, which are read as creating a stark division between an in-group of wise torah observers who are blessed and an out-group of disobedient fools who are cursed. There are some hints, however, that there may have been more to this text than such a tidy dualism (e.g., “in her the discerning ones have erred” [frg. 16 3]). Overall, the argument proves useful for grasping the rhetorical impact of 4Q525 within a plausible life setting.

Chapter four concludes the study with a rich consideration of 4Q525 in relation to Jewish pedagogy in Hellenistic Judea. The discussion covers an array of issues including but not limited to the relationship between the curriculum represented in 4Q525 to Greek and Egyptian wisdom curricula, the expansion and usage of the Solomonic Proverbs tradition (represented esp. also in 4Q184), the merging of wisdom discourse with torah, which connects 4Q525 to other texts and broader trends in Second Temple Judaism and implicitly draws Moses into the picture, and the reception of the text in the Qumran community. The multifaceted approach of this chapter effectively reveals the place of 4Q525 within the wider intellectual and religious environment of late Second Temple Judaism, “and not merely into ideas of wisdom treasured within marginal circles” (251).

Uusimäki has produced a carefully argued study of a composition that, until now, has not received the comprehensive treatment that it deserves. The disproportionate focus on the macarisms evident in previous scholarship has been eschewed in favor of a more balanced treatment that allows for a more accurate understanding of the text, both on its own terms and in relation to broader trends in contemporary Jewish wisdom. While the composition preserved in 4Q525 is known only from this single manuscript, and its influence on sectarian education seems to have been marginal, the author has demonstrated how the contents of this text relate to a number of significant developments in the intellectual and religious landscape of late Second Temple Judaism. This is a welcome addition to the growing number of excellent studies on the wisdom texts from Qumran.

Joseph L. ANGEL

Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano (eds.), *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament I 360; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. xii + 257. € 199.00. ISBN 978-3-16-154531-3.

In his ‘Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition’ (*Currents in Biblical Research* 8 [2009], pp. 107-150), Gideon Bohak wrote: “Given the fact that Jewish magical texts never were canonized or codified, the ways they traveled from one generation to another and from one geographical region to the next must arouse not only our admiration, but also our scientific and historical curiosity. This is especially true when we find out that the Jewish magicians of later periods had more access to ancient textual materials—such as the story of the Fallen Angels which is known to us from the ‘apocryphal’ literature of the Second Temple period—than we would otherwise have imagined. Thus, in a totally unintentional manner, these texts tell us much about the ‘underground’ transmission of some texts and traditions over long stretches of Jewish history” (p. 119). The book under review represents a serious and welcome attempt to address this specific question. It focusses on one aspect of the Enochic Fallen Angel tradition, the Qumran *Book of Giants*, but, in addition to treating its origins and appearance at Qumran, it also examines its transmission along the Silk Route in Late Antiquity, and its reception in the Manichaean milieu.

The first part focusses on wider contexts of the giant traditions and contains three papers. The first paper, ‘The Giant in a Thousand Years: Tracing Narratives of Gigantism in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond’, by Brian R. Doak, presents five categories for the giant in the Hebrew Bible—as a divine or semi-divine figure, as anti-law or anti-king, as elite adversary or elite animal, as unruly or overgrown vegetation, and as the defeated past—before looking briefly at the reception of these traditions in early Jewish sources. In a thought-provoking analysis, he discusses the liminality of the giants in respect of geography, politics and history. In the second paper, ‘Greek Titans and Biblical Giants’, Samantha Newington opens up the diversity of Hellenistic giant traditions, differentiating between the Orphic tradition, for example, and that of Hesiod, and analysing how these traditions relate to the Enochic and Christian traditions. This is an important paper that demonstrates well the need to look beyond Hesiod. The third paper, ‘The Giants in the Jewish Literature in Greek’, by Michael Tuval, looks at the Septuagint, the Wisdom of Solomon, 3 Maccabees, Baruch, 3 Baruch, Ben Sira, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Pseudo-Eupolemus, the Sibylline Oracles, Philo of Alexandria, and Josephus. This welcome survey shows that the reception of the Enochic giant traditions within these works turns out to be surprisingly diverse.

The second part of this volume focusses on the giant traditions among the Dead Sea Scrolls, including the Enochic corpus and the book of Daniel, and contains five papers. The first paper, ‘The Humbling of the Arrogant and the “Wild Man” and “Tree Stump” Traditions in the *Book of Giants* and Daniel 4’,

by Joseph L. Angel, reads the account of the dreams of Hahyah and Ohyah in light of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 4. For Angel, both texts represent an anti-imperial polemic, the latter against the neo-Babylonians and the former against the Hellenistic powers. In the second paper, 'Throne Theophanies, Dream Visions, and Righteous(?) Seers: Daniel, the *Book of Giants*, and *1 Enoch* Reconsidered', Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe compares Daniel 7, 1 Enoch 14 and the theophany of Ohyah. Moving beyond questions of dependence and influence, which have already been treated several times, she prefers to focus on the differing purposes of each theophany. The third paper, 'Giants and Demons', by Ida Fröhlich, discusses the Mesopotamian background of the Enochic watchers and giants, focussing on this tradition's demonological aspects, and then addresses how Genesis 6:1-4 fits into this tradition. The fourth paper, 'The Sons of the Watchers in the *Book of Watchers* and the Qumran *Book of Giants*: Contexts and Prospects', by Matthew Goff, is similar to that of Tuval in that it highlights the diversity of the early Jewish giant traditions. Reading the fragmentary Qumran *Book of Giants* alongside the Manichaean version allows for the intriguing possibility that some of the giants repented and found some sort of redemption. In the fifth paper, 'The *Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls: Considerations of Method and a New Proposal on the Reconstruction of 4Q530', Loren T. Stuckenbruck outlines the necessity of affording priority to the physical evidence when attempting to reconstruct the Qumran *Book of Giants*. He then provides a relative outline of the narrative, and suggests that, by the time we reach the point where Enoch interprets the second pair of dreams, we are probably nearing the end of the scroll.

The third part of this volume focusses on the reception of the Enochic giant traditions in central Asia and China, and contains four papers. The first paper, 'The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica', by Gábor Kósa, examines the reception of these traditions in Chinese through a Middle Persian intermediary. This beautifully illustrated paper focusses on a corpus of Chinese Manichaean manuscripts recently discovered in Xiapu (Fujian province, China), and presents material that would otherwise be beyond access for most scholars of early Judaism. In the second paper, 'Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani's *Book of Giants* and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature', Enrico Morano presents in two parts the *editio princeps* (with very clear photographs) of several Sogdian fragments from the Berlin Turfan collection; the first part contains passages that may come from Mani's *Book of Giants*, while the second part contains a fragment that may relate to the wider Enochic traditions. The third paper, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Manichaean *Book of Giants*?', by John C. Reeves, discusses a fascinating scholion of Jacob of Edessa concerning the giants "born before the flood to the daughters of Cain" (p. 201). Reeves provides an English translation, and his detailed analysis of the text is compelling, but we are not furnished with the Syriac text (which remains unedited in BL Add. 17,193, 61v-62r). Although Syriac excerpts are given when necessary to support the analysis, the decision of the editors to exclude a proper edition of the fragment provides my sole (and admittedly very minor) quibble with this volume. In the final paper, 'Remarks on the Manichaean *Book of Giants*: Once Again on Mahaway's Mission to Enoch', Jens Wilkens presents a new transcription, English translation and

discussion of Mainz 317, which contains a fragment from the Manichaean *Book of Giants* in Old Uyghur. Not being competent in Old Uyghur (or any other Turkic language for that matter), I will simply state that this paper devotes sufficient attention to the previous editions by Le Coq, Bang, and Henning, and the analysis is clear. As Wilkens points out, the leaf presents “several philological problems” (p. 214), so this is certainly not the final word on this fragment. Having said that, Wilkens is able to bring recent research on the Qumran traditions to bear on the problems presented by Mainz 317, which represents a step forward.

The introduction and the indices bookend what is a well-produced, thoughtful and thought-provoking volume; without exception, every paper is a joy to read. The editors are to be congratulated for having the vision to conceive of approaching the subject in this way.

Siam BHAYRO

Hindy Najman, Jean-Sébastien Rey, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Israel* (JSJS 174; Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. vi + 242. € 115. ISBN 978-90-04-32467-1.

The book presents twelve papers from the International Symposium on Jewish and Christian Literature from the Hellenistic and Roman Period held in October 2014, in Metz, France. Established scholarly classifications delimiting the corpus of ancient Jewish Wisdom literature to a static collection of texts (Proverbs, Job, Qohelet, Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon) and to distinctions between sage, prophet and scribe are challenged in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and later manuscript traditions. By the end of the second century BCE sapiential discourses and wisdom motifs virtually pervade every literary genre across the so-called Wisdom/non-Wisdom divides. In the Dead Sea Scrolls and later rabbinic material the pre-established designations of prophet, scribe and sage no longer fit the presupposed textual categories. The volume reconsiders sapiential terminology, concepts and formal features of wisdom compositions across a broad spectrum of texts: Hebrew Bible (James Kugel), Ben Sira (Samuel Adams), the Dead Sea Scrolls (Matthew Goff and Arjen Bakker), Hellenistic Jewish texts (Benjamin Wright and Patrick Pouchelle), Rabbinic Texts (Ishay Rosen-Zvi and Maurice Gilbert), the Cairo Geniza (Gideon Bohak), ancient Jewish wisdom in its Near Eastern context (Stéphanie Anthonioz), and Jewish Hellenistic context (Elisa Uusimäki). A cursory review of some of the contributions suffices to confirm new perspectives on the broader wisdom context of an ancient Jewish *paideia*.

Stuart Weeks' essay opens the volume with a retrospective problematization of the usefulness of categorizing a wisdom text. James Kugel argues, with an illustration from a spectrum of texts from the Second Temple period, that by and large the specifically wisdom related theme of “divine, long-range planning” to designate underlying plans of all reality had to a large extent become so incorporated as a theological construct in writings of Second Temple Judaism that its connection as a concept linked to a wisdom context was no longer apparent. Benjamin Wright reconsiders the external evidence for the engagement with

Greek learning in relation to the Hellenistic milieu in which Ben Sira lived before turning to internal evidence provided by *Ben Sira* as a wisdom composition. Wright concludes that Ben Sira would have had a far broader exposure to Greek education and literature than hitherto thought and that writing in Hebrew for Ben Sira meant the incorporation of the wisdom of other nations into the language and wisdom of ancient Israel whilst shaping the identity of his students. Samuel Adams argues that although in *Ben Sira* explicit acknowledgement of and reverence for prophetic traditions and the prophetic task signifies a sea change when compared with the absence of references to prophetic traditions in other wisdom books such as *Qohelet* and *Proverbs*, Ben Sira would not locate himself within a line of prophetic inheritance but remains ever the scribe-sage who would incorporate Israel's prophetic tradition into the wider Wisdom context. Matthew Goff identifies the different socio-economic locations of wisdom texts such as *Proverbs* and *Ben Sira*, from a context of wealth, and *4QInstruction*, from a context of poverty. Although there may be no evidence for the specific literary category of wisdom texts, so Goff argues, the Qumran composition testifies to an existing pedagogical tradition in ancient Israel so that by the second century BCE, works that stem from different social contexts could draw on a common body of pedagogical traditions of instruction that included both *Torah* and *Proverbs*. With a special focus on *Pss. Sol. 5*, Patrick Pouchelle argues that the concepts behind the *Psalms of Solomon* should be studied sapientially rather than historically since the psalms evince their own habitus as prayers with a didactic purpose. For Pouchelle, wisdom language and ideas pervade the Solomonic composition as prayer and render problematic any attempt to identify a particular sapiential genre in the Hellenistic period. Maurice Gilbert, S. J. considers the persistence of two motifs beyond the third century CE, in *Pirqué Avot* and wisdom literature, that is, the motif of the succession of masters as an expression of the continuity of the master-disciple or father-son relationship and secondly, the continuity of the literary device of the tripartite sentence to express a totality or completeness.

A short introduction by the organizers of the conference and the addition of an Index to Ancient Sources followed by an Index to Authors completes this highly accessible volume. All those interested in tracing the profound transformation of wisdom traditions in Ancient Judaism will also discover new perspectives on the development of different forms of the pedagogical function across the so-called Wisdom/non-Wisdom divides.

Christine LEROY

Dorota Hartman, *Archivio di Babatha. Vol. 1: Testi greci e ketubbah* (Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 6.3; Brescia: Paideia, 2016), pp. 178. € 25,00. ISBN 9788839408976.

In 1961, an expedition led by Yigal Yadin, in the "Cave of the Letters" in Nahal Hever, discovered, among other things, a group of legal documents belonging to a Jewish woman named Babatha, dating back to the period immediately preceding the revolt of Bar Kokhba (see the first description of the find in

Yigael Yadin, "Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters," *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 [1962]: 227–57, particularly pp. 235–38; Hans Jakob Polotsky, "The Greek Papyri from the Cave of the Letters," *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 [1962]: 258–62).

The documents were contained in a leather bag and, according to Yadin, kept in a specific order. This group of documents was given the name of *The Babatha Archive*: thirty-five papyri, of which seventeen are in Greek, nine in Greek with signatures and subscriptions in Aramaic and / or Nabataean, six in Nabataean and three in Aramaic. These documents go back, roughly, to the period between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century CE (93–132 CE). The archive is a collection of judicial documents and contracts concerning a Jewish woman named Babatha, daughter of Simeon, from Mahoza. These documents are of great interest because they inform us about particular aspects of the life of a wealthy Jewish woman between the first and second century, such as divorce, marriage, and other legal and economic matters. Basically, through apparently cold archival documents we are able to reconstruct the story of Babatha, daughter of Simon, son of Menachem. Babatha was married to a Yehoshua and had a son with the same name as his father (and grandfather). Once widowed, Babatha had a series of legal disputes, witnessed in the papyri, with the tutors of her child. In fact, Babatha found the tutors's requests for the needs of the boy exaggerated. After some time Babatha remarried to a Judas, who had a daughter from a previous marriage named Shelamzion. After the death of Judas, Babatha became involved in a series of legal disputes over the inheritance with her stepdaughter, as well as, again, with the tutors of some of the deceased's grandchildren and his ex-wife, Miriam.

This brief description of the content of the Babatha archive (for which see Corrado Martone, "Verso un'edizione italiana dell' archivio di Babatha: Il Papiro Yadin 1: Testo e traduzione," in "*The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious*" (Qoh 10,12): *Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* [ed. Mauro Perani; Studia Judaica; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005], 129–38; Id., *Il giudaismo antico (538 aev-70 e.v.)* [Rome: Carocci, 2008], pp. 130–32) is sufficient, we believe, to give an idea of the importance of these documents for our knowledge of the economic life and social and family relations within the Jewish society in the 2nd century CE, a period, it should be recalled, which certainly does not stand out for the abundance of first-hand sources.

Dorothea Hartman's book therefore fills a major gap in Italian culture as it presents a scholarly edition, translation, and commentary of the Greek texts of the Babatha archive, in addition to the Aramaic marriage contract (P. Yadin 10), which is essential to better contextualize the other documents.

The edition of the texts is preceded by an exhaustive introduction which deals, first of all, with the discoveries and the various phases of the publication of the papyri; then Hartman goes on to present the other documentary finds of Nahal Hever, and in particular the letters of Bar Kokhba and the archive of Salome Komaise; a careful description of the historical context follows, dealing with the Jewish revolts, the birth of the province of Arabia, the revolt of Bar Kokhba and the data on the administration of Judea and Arabia under

the Roman rule; the introduction ends with a learned chapter dedicated to the languages and scriptures in which these documents are written.

The published documents are the following: P. Yadin 5; P. Yadin 11; P. Yadin 12; P. Yadin 13; P. Yadin 14; P. Yadin 15; P. Yadin 16; P. Yadin 17; P. Yadin 18; P. Yadin 19; P. Yadin 20; P. Yadin 21; P. Yadin 22; P. Yadin 23; P. Yadin 24; P. Yadin 25; P. Yadin 26; P. Yadin 27; P. Yadin 28-30; P. Yadin 31; P. Yadin 32; P. Yadin 32a; P. Yadin 33; P. Yadin 34; P. Yadin 35; P. Yadin 10. Every papyrus has a short but comprehensive introduction and the text is well annotated in relation to both paleography and content. The author skillfully addresses the many difficulties in reading these texts and gives an account of the different interpretations of various editors, always choosing the best reading (or, which is the same thing, the most probable). As a side note, it should be noted, however, that in P. Yadin 15 the signature to l. 39 is ירוחנן and not ירחנן.

The book ends with a list of sigla and a vast and up-to-date bibliography, to which one can add—certainly not to reproach the author for not being able to predict the future, but to give an idea of the vitality of the topic—the most recent volumes by Kimberley Czajkowski, *Localized Law: The Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) and Philip F. Esler, *Babatha's Orchard: The Yadin Papyri and an Ancient Jewish Family Tale Retold* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), and as regards P. Yadin 10, in particular, the study of the tireless Hannah M. Cotton Paltiel, “Eleuthera and Brat Horin: Another Look at Babatha's Ketubba, P. Yadin 10,” *JJS* 68 (2017): 225-33.

In short, the book presented here is a work of great importance and one can only hope to see the second volume devoted to papyri not in Greek as soon as possible, so that the Italian reader (or anyone able to read Italian) may have at their disposal this important *corpus* in a learned and reliable edition.

Corrado MARTONE

Andrew Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls* (Journal of Ancient Judaism, Supplement 19; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015). \$125.00. ISBN: 9783525550946.

With this revision of his Ph.D. dissertation at McMaster University, Perrin offers an important contribution to Dead Sea Scrolls research as well as to dream and vision studies in ancient Judaism. Perrin's detailed work fills a lacuna in present scholarship by focusing on an analysis of the dream-vision episodes in the Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, considering common linguistic, formal, functional, and thematic features in the collection. As befits the fragmentary state of the texts, Perrin's monograph is conservative in its conclusions. At the same time, it is suggestive enough in its findings to spur further research in several areas, including dreams and visions in early Judaism, the outlines of an Aramaic corpus and its cohesive worldview, the nature of the pseudepigraphic convention, and the thought currents and possible social settings of early Judaism, including those that produced apocalypticism.

In discussing the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, which are generally recognized as originating outside of the Qumran scribal community (p. 25), Perrin wades into the debate concerning whether the texts genuinely exhibit the coherence of a “corpus” (e.g. pp. 30-37; see also the Foreward by García Martínez, pp. 19-21). Although he typically refers to the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls as a “collection” or a “constellation” of texts (p. 227-231), by the end of the book he does refer to them as the “Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls corpus” (p. 247). This is fitting, since he convincingly demonstrates that the Aramaic dream-vision texts found in the Scrolls exhibit a cohesive outlook and form that points us in that direction.

The book begins by justifying its focus, noting that Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls evince a clear interest in dream-vision revelation lacking in Hebrew texts from the Judean Desert (p. 27). In Part I (Chapters 2-3), Perrin locates dream-visions in twenty of twenty-nine extant Aramaic texts from the Scrolls, briefly describing the content of each. He finds that most are first-person narratives by “the dream writer” (p. 91), who is usually a patriarch or pre-diluvian figure from Genesis (p. 87). Helpful tables (pp. 88-89) summarize what must have been exhausting research, recording the presence of recurring motifs in each text, such as heavenly tablets, an *angelus interpres*, or references to the Watchers myth. The philological work of Chapter 3 is similarly thorough.

However, in that same chapter, the analysis of the formal elements of dreams sometimes teeters a little since only selective and passing effort is made to contextualize the elements of the Aramaic dream-visions in their wider context of early Jewish texts of the period. Acknowledging this, Perrin argues that he is most interested in establishing the similarities of the dream-visions in this collection (p. 91), and indeed, this sustained focus generates many of the insights of the book. Unfortunately, though, this decision to table a wider contextualization of the dream-vision texts in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls necessarily impacts somewhat the significance of the findings in Part II. Here, Perrin perceptively identifies features common to the corpus, including pseudographic dream writers drawn from exegesis of Genesis (Chapter 4), priestly and temple related themes (Chapter 5), and historiography as configured through dream-visions (Chapter 6). Yet one wonders if these features are distinctive to the outlook of this corpus or whether they also characteristic of other Aramaic texts of early Judaism or other early Jewish texts containing dreams and visions, regardless of the language of composition. Even when Perrin acknowledges that priestly concerns pervade other dream-visions in early Judaism (p. 158), it is unclear whether these concerns take the same shape and intensity. While such issues will have to be sorted out further in research seeking to draw conclusions about the thought currents of early Judaism, Perrin lays important groundwork here for future studies.

Another methodological concern arises for me from the outset, since it appears in the title. Perrin opts for the term “dream-vision” in recognition of the overlapping terminology used to describe phenomena that he treats as one category of a revelatory medium, although he does not explain that choice until well into the work (p. 94). While he is correct to avoid sharp, anachronistic distinctions between sleep-induced revelatory states and waking transcendent ones, the eliding of the terms used for various episodes perhaps imposes a

foreign concept on the Aramaic texts. Dreams and visions do constitute overlapping categories, but it may be that they are not entirely overlapping, and fidelity to the ancient worldview should avoid such a conflation. Again, the investigation could have been helped from the outset by mentioning some of the basic functions of dreams and visions in antiquity and in early Jewish literature in particular, which he only mentions in passing well into the book, specifically, in relation to the ability of dreams and visions to impart heavenly authority (p. 177).

Certainly, my preferences for more careful attention to form and contextualization for dreams and visions *per se* derive from my own interests in those areas and are not meant to detract from my enthusiasm for this valuable study. Part II contains several brilliant moments that deserve high praise. Perrin's careful reading of Genesis—specifically the expression that a person “walked with/before God”—convincingly demonstrates how exegesis could have led to the traditions of Enoch, Noah, and Levi as dreamers who received revelation and who communed with angels. This is one of the strongest and most original portions of the book. Perrin also convincingly shows that verbs of revelation and knowing are closely associated with dreaming (Chapter 4), research that certainly holds implications for mysticism and apocalypticism studies. Another evocative highlight appears in Chapter 5, in which Perrin establishes that the *angelus interpres* in *VisAmram* is likely Melchizedek (p. 166). Building on Milik's reconstruction of the angel of light in 4QVisAmram^b (4Q544) as Melchizedek, Perrin connects this insight to *Pesher* 11QMelch and *AramLevi* not only to show that *AramLevi* shaped the priestly genealogy known to *VisAmram*, but also to establish that the Aramaic dream-visions understand that “the earthly priests are mediators of heavenly mysteries in continuity and close association with the celestial priesthood,” in a chain of command stretching up to the head of the heavenly priestly order, Melchizedek (p. 170). Such examples must suffice to entice readers interested in a myriad of topics in early Judaism—including pseudepigraphy, temple themes, the priesthood, flood narratives, scriptural exegesis, historiography, and the rise of apocalypticism—to read this valuable and thoroughly researched work.

Frances L. FLANNERY

Markus Witte, *Texte und Kontexte des Sirachbuchs: Gesammelte Studien zu Ben Sira und zur frühjüdischen Weisheit* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 98; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), pp. X + 325. € 99,00. ISBN 978-3-16-153905-3.

The volume is a collection of essays most of which were written and published between 2001 and 2014. The articles that appear for the first time in German are the following: “‘Was haben wir für einen Anteil an David [...]?’ Sir 47,12–48,1 als *relecture* von 1 Kön 12” (ch. II.) and “Emotionen in den Gebeten der Sapientia Salomonis” (ch. III.). During the revision of the essays the author has taken into consideration the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira and subsequent commentaries and translations that surfaced since the first publication of the respective articles. Following the literature review—in which the author sums up Ben Sira-research to date and highlights questions in which

there is consensus or disagreement between scholars—the contents are organized into three major parts: I. Introductory questions, II. Treatment of individual texts from the Book of Ben Sira, III. Articles relevant for a better understanding of Ben Sira and the cultural and literary context in which it emerged.

Among the introductory matters Witte deals with the problems of the various textual traditions demonstrated through the exegesis of Sir 49:8–10, a passage exhibiting differences between the Hebrew original and the versions regarding the use or absence of Job's name. The question of Scripture Ben Sira considered authoritative is treated with a view to the problem of the different text versions, since it appears that the canonical writings for the author of the Hebrew text are different from the canonical writings for the Greek translator. Therefore, to illuminate the issues of canonicity one must analyse the ways in which the various traditions use Scriptures either as quotations or as references. Witte's second article—apart from referring to relevant earlier research and analysis—emphasizes the complexity of the question.

A major contribution of the volume is the overview of the theology of Ben Sira. One of the main characteristics of the theology of Ben Sira is the emphasis on creation. On the one hand, he stands in the tradition of Old Testament wisdom—which, in different ways, reflects the significance of the theme of God as creator—and on the other, has some characteristics of his own regarding the topic, including the composition of extensive hymns about the creation and the creator (e.g. Sir 42:15–43:33). Witte sums up creation theology in Ben Sira under three subheadings: God as creator, God as judge and God as saviour. He notes among the characteristics of Ben Sira's creation theology on the one hand the similarities to creation thought of other Ancient Near Eastern cultures, and on the other, distinctively Israelite features. It is noteworthy in one of the passages highlighted by Witte concerning creation (Sir 17:3–4.6–7) that there is no reference to the original sin even though Ben Sira connects the notion of the image and likeness of God (Gen 1, 9, Ps 8) with the ability of discretion and understanding (Gen 3). Under the subheading "God as judge" Witte sums up the significance of the *Laus Patrum* (Sir 44–50) and passages treating the issue of the mercy and wrath of God (2:1–18; 5:1–8) as representing important examples of the concern with (salvation-)history of the individual and the nation which makes the work of Ben Sira distinctive among the wisdom writings. The wisdom poems such as Sir 24 and 51:13–30 combine the notions of God as creator and God as the Lord of history. Through the apportionment of wisdom to creation and to Israel God appears as saviour, as reflected in the connection of the thoughts of the fear of God, wisdom and the keeping of the mosaic law.

Witte dedicates two articles to the question of mercy, one in the context of the mercy and wrath of God in Ben Sira, and the other in the context of mercy in Israelite wisdom of the Greco-Roman Era. The passages analysed and compared with material from the Hebrew Bible are 2:11; 5:6; 16:11; 18:11; 36:7–17; 50:19; 51:12a–o. The conclusions of the two articles based on the analysis of these comments, on Ps 112 and on the examples of the compassion of Tobit, Zebulun (*T. Zeb.*) and Job are: the basis of the compassion of humans is the mercy of God; he is the God of all, who wisely created and ordered everything in creation; mercy and cult are intertwined; the mercy and

wrath of God are related to theodicy; compassion of humans works as expiation for sins; God's mercy is unlimited in contrast with the mercy of humans.

In the first article of chapter II. the author returns to the topic of creation when analysing the comment on the "law of life" in Sir 17:11 (within 17:1–24) concerning its pertinence to the questions of universal and particular revelation (taken up again in the following article), and the connection of life and religion. He concludes that in Ben Sira the purpose of life is communion with God, which includes the fear of God. Standing in the tradition of former sages Ben Sira connects *praxis pietatis* with wisdom, cult and the keeping of the Torah which is both universal and particularly Jewish. Therefore, life and religion cannot be separated.

In the framework of the reception history of the figure of Moses Witte analyses four passages from Ben Sira (45:1–5; 45:15; 46:1.7; 24:23) where Moses appears. He notes that the sage builds his picture of Moses using various strands of the Biblical accounts and sources, such as—among others—Ex 33, Num 12 and Deut 12, either as direct quotations or references. The main characteristics of Moses according to the sage are: he is the mediator and teacher of the Torah which is vital for the contemporary existence of Israel; his functions as priest, prophet and miracle-working man represent his closeness to God who selected him for his faithfulness and meekness, therefore his election is different from the election of Israel which is solely based on the mercy and love of God. It is important that for Ben Sira Moses does not have royal traits.

In article 3 of chapter II. Witte interprets Ben Sira's *relecture* of the reign of Solomon and the ensuing events contained in 1 Kgs 3–12. Throughout his work Ben Sira connects various biblical passages through selective quotations in order to underpin his own theological teaching. The most important shift in accent compared with his source texts—in the context of the Hebrew Bible and Ben Sira's entire book—is that the responsibility of Solomon, Rehoboam and Jeroboam in the division of the kingdom is emphasized more than in the Hebrew Bible. Ephraim is especially blamed for breaking away from Judah, especially in light of the fact that the unity of the nation and the worshipping community is especially important for Ben Sira who hopes for such unity in his own time through the cult at the Temple of Jerusalem and the keeping of the Torah of the one God.

The article closing chapter II. looks at possible parallels of Sir 49:15 which may have influenced the formation of the comment on Joseph and assumes one such parallel in the story of the burial of the bones of Alexander the Great, preserved among others in the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The essays in chapter III. deal with the context in which the work of Ben Sira was developed and completed through 1) discovering the role of the patriarch Jacob in the Wisdom of Solomon as an exemplar of righteousness, 2) analysing the passages in Wis containing references to divine or human emotions in prayers (direct, reported prayers or hymnic addresses to God) and their function, 3) providing an overview of the ethos of mercy in Israelite wisdom of the Greco-Roman Era (see above) and 4) offering a survey of passages from Job, Qohelet, Proverbs and Ben Sira that contribute to the understanding of the unity and multiplicity of the one God whose most important characteristics include his righteousness, which is the overarching and diverse theme of Old Testament wisdom.

Even though some of the topics appearing in this volume have been taken up earlier by researchers, Markus Witte's essays represent an important contribution to Ben Sira-research especially pertaining to textual and literary criticism, tradition history, reception history, intertextuality and canonicity. They are significant for determining the role Ben Sira has as an early Jewish wisdom writing and as a bridge between the Old and the New Testament.

Ibolya BALLA

Trine Bjørnung Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Collection of Prayers from Qumran* (Early Judaism and its Literature 42; Atlanta: SBL, 2015), pp. xi + 313. US \$ 55.95. ISBN 978-1-62837-056-0.

This book, a revised version of Hasselbalch's 2011 doctoral thesis, is an analysis of selected parts of 1QHodayot^a, which the author regards as a heterogeneous collection of prayer texts. The purpose is to demonstrate, "by applying theories that properly address the relationship between discourse and context," that alternative readings of the work are viable (1–2).

The Hodayot are typically divided into "teacher/leader hymns" and "community hymns." Though there is a literary basis for such a division, some of the texts blur categories by mixing elements of respective categories. Thus, Hasselbalch argues that scholarly explanations should not depend on (a) "a rigid bifurcation of the collection" or (b) "the notion that the different authors of the compositions must be the key to the social meaning of the compilation" (32). In other words, she challenges the twofold division of the Hodayot, as well as the conception that specific literary features would inform us about sociohistorical realities behind the types of hymns.

To move the discussion forward, Hasselbalch lays out three assumptions. First, texts carry "uninscribed meanings that change throughout their existence, from one context to another" (15). Similarly, the Hodayot were "reusable cultural expressions" (17). Second, the Hodayot as prayers attest to social activity and discourse which is directed to, and aims at affecting, God. In this respect Hasselbalch pushes Carol Newsom's argument forward by claiming that the rhetorical (human) function of 1QHodayot^a is not exhaustive. In her words, "no prayer could function purely on the social plane as an instrument of social control" (26); rather, prayers were means to address and even manipulate God. Finally, the praying subject constructed in the Hodayot is not only an object in the agency of God, but has an active role to play in that agency.

Methodologically, Hasselbalch makes use of transitivity analysis and lexical strings, two tools of Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The purpose of this approach is to highlight nuances of texts by means of clause analysis. In particular, SFL stresses how meaning lies in the function of language in a social situation. The presentation of the method in Ch. 2 is followed by the analysis of four Hodayot texts (or pairs of texts) which count as hybrids: 1QH^a 6:19–33 (Ch. 3); 1QH^a 20:7–22:39, which is read against 1QS 9:12–11:22 (Ch. 4); 1QH^a 12:6–13:6 (Ch. 5); the Self-Glorification Hymn and the

Hymn of the Righteous (Ch. 6). After disconnecting these Hodayot from their commonly presumed settings, Hasselbalch recontextualizes them in Ch. 7, suggesting that the collection's owners were worshippers who regarded themselves as religious elite.

Essentially, Hasselbalch argues for defining the Hodayot as prayers of seemingly different origins. These variegated texts are unified by three elements: the communicative situation (an "I" addressing God), blessing and thanksgiving, and God's agency (249). As core theses of her book, Hasselbalch emphasizes the shared nature of divine agency in 1QHodayot^a and how the work is being rooted in an elite self-understanding.

To explain the composition of 1QHodayot^a, Hasselbalch proposes that the "community hymns" probably originated in wider "wisdom circles" outside the Dead Sea community. They represent a community of wise people who belong to a spiritual elite. The "leader hymns," in turn, were later embedded into the collection because they were seen as developing wisdom literature in a new situation. They were written by people who regarded themselves as being included in the "elite ethos" of the "community hymns." (Esp. 198–199, 216, 257–258.) Ultimately, diverse materials were incorporated in order to serve one group and "its need to build and maintain a particular, relatively uniform self-image" (253). To take but one example, Hasselbalch characterizes 1QH^a 6:19–33 as a text which scripts a performance and functions as "an edificatory mantra dealing with the *ongoing* challenge of a religious group defining itself as elite" (111–112).

In Hasselbalch's view, each composition of 1QHodayot^a, as well as the collection as a whole, acknowledges the significance of divine agency. The community behind the work perceived itself as acting on God's behalf in the world, and the interest in God's agency was expansive: both community members and prospective members were set as its goal. Importantly, Hasselbalch questions the notion that the "community hymns" would have belonged to "ordinary members" (i.e., non-leaders), for their language also has an elite ethos. Moreover, the speaking "I" can have more than one function and position in the divine agency hierarchy as reflected in the hybrid texts; the speaker can be both an instrument and an object of God's will.

Hasselbalch's reading of selected Hodayot brings out careful observations and results in a fresh re-evaluation of the work and its context(s). This is laudable, though the reader is surprised to find out that the author speaks of a singular Dead Sea community (yet see the ambiguous note 22 on pp. 263–264) and that she never addresses the complexity pertaining to "wisdom literature" and related concepts which play an important role in her argumentation. Despite such deficiencies, Hasselbalch manages to underline purposes that lie behind 1QHodayot^a in a fascinating way. Essentially, her study sheds light on spiritual formation that took place via the use of the Hodayot in Jewish antiquity. Moreover, the emphasis on the nature of the Hodayot as prayers aptly points to the intersections of liturgical performance, spiritual exercise, and ever-evolving wisdom traditions.